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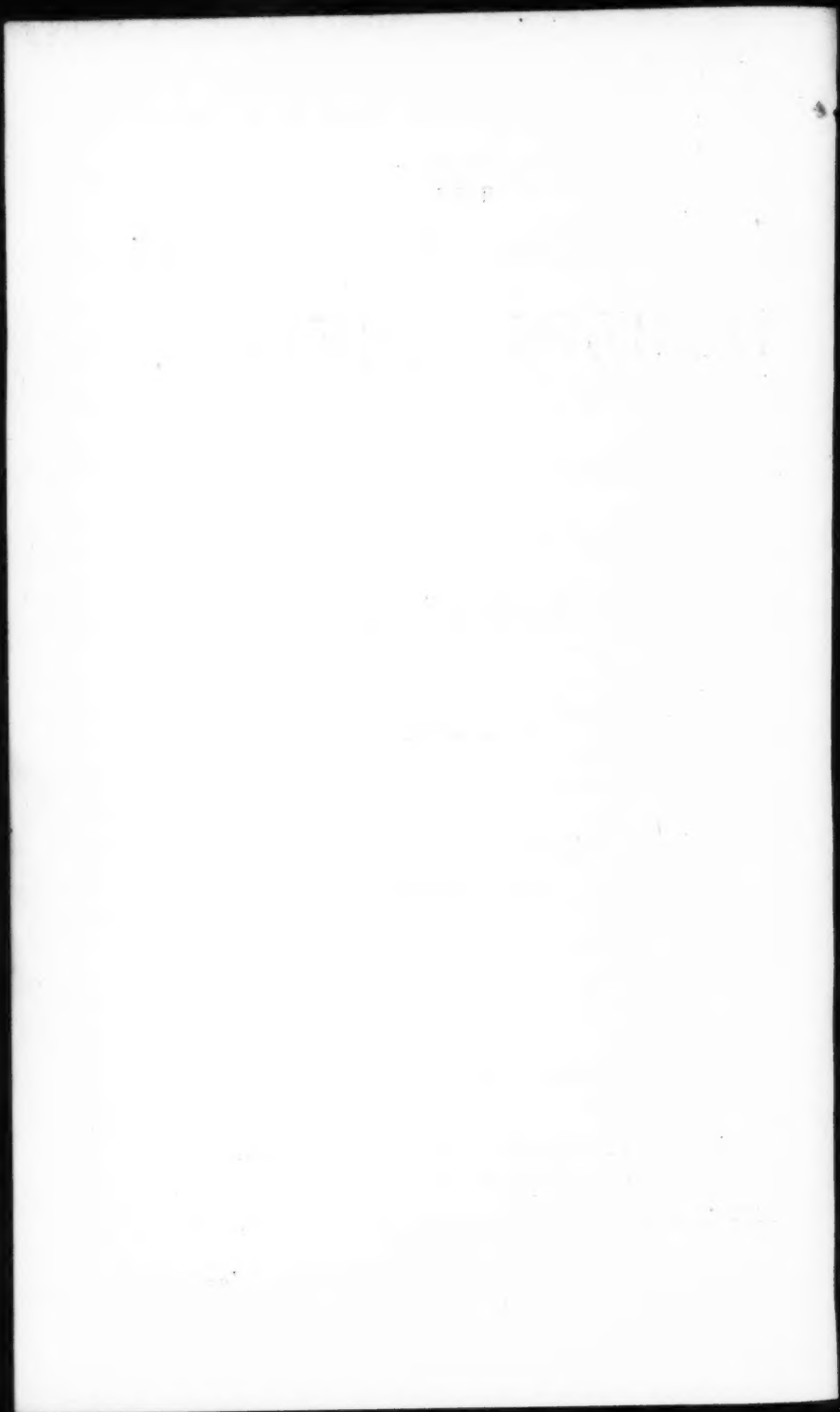
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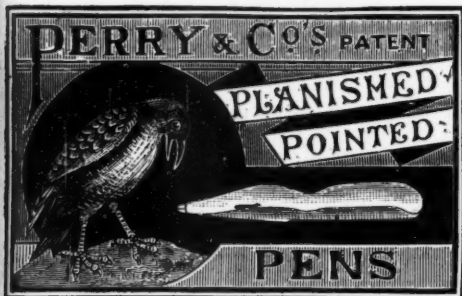


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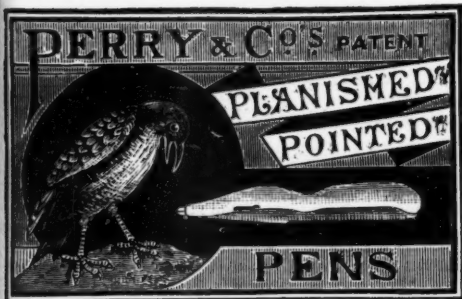
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THE  
DUBLIN REVIEW.

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JANUARY, 1888.

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ART. I.—THE ROOD OF BOXLEY; OR, HOW A  
LIE GROWS.

"These accretions on divine worship went on accumulating like a snowball, till one day a crowd was gathered in St. Paul's Churchyard; and a great image was drawn in from Boxley, in Kent, with all its secret wires and pulleys complete; and the Bishop of Rochester put it through all its religious antics, and made it bow its head and roll its eyes and weep out of a sponge cleverly concealed behind. And then what wonder that it, and all the like of it, were tossed with ribald insults into the flames! What wonder," &c. &c.—Speech of the Rev. G. H. Curteis, Canon of Lichfield, and Professor of New Testament Exegesis, King's College, London, before the Anglican Church Congress (*The Guardian*, Oct. 5, 1887).

**I**N the spring of 1538 Thomas Cromwell, Vicar-General in things spiritual of Henry VIII., now by Act of Parliament supreme head on earth of the Church of England, provided, for the edification of the King's flock in London, a solemn spectacle. A crucifix, which had long borne the name of the Rood of Grace, was brought from the Cistercian Abbey of Boxley,\* between Maidstone and Rochester, and exhibited at St. Paul's Cross, as a sample of monastic imposture.

"On Sunday, the 24th February," writes Stow, in his "*Annals*," "the Rood of Boxley, in Kent, called the Rood of Grace, *made with divers vices to move the eyes and lips*, was showed at Paul's Cross by the preacher, which was the Bishop of Rochester,

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\* Halsted, in his "*History of Kent*" (vol. iv.) erroneously says the rood was in the parish church of Boxley. It was in the abbey church, now destroyed.

and there it was broken and plucked to pieces."\* It was asserted by Cromwell, his partisans and agents, at the time of its exhibition and destruction, that the movements of the Rood were the only miracles ever performed in Boxley abbey-church, and that the pilgrims and the whole world had been cheated by the monks into the belief that these mechanical movements, produced by the trickery of a concealed monk, were Divine manifestations of favour or displeasure. It is maintained by Catholics, or at least by the writer of this paper, that the miracles wrought, or supposed to have been wrought, or graces obtained, before this crucifix, had nothing whatever to do with these movements, which were perfectly well known by all who ever witnessed them to be merely mechanical.

It must be premised that the question is of more importance than the mere vindication of the good name of the monks of Boxley. From the days of the suppression of the monasteries to the present time the frauds of the monks have been the theme of our historians. The accusation is nearly always a general one, but the solitary example, always brought forward as a mere specimen, is the Rood of Grace. There is no need to turn to Burnet or to Strype—the story is told in every history, ecclesiastical or secular. It is not one of the slanders, current while passions were still hot after the change of religion, but rejected or silently dropped in less bigoted times. It is taken for a proved and universally accepted fact, and narrated at the present day either with fiery invectives, scoffs, or pious lamentations, according to the character of the writers.†

Before examining the evidence we must hear the accusations, and take note of the points requiring proof:

A miraculous crucifix [writes Hume] had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of the Rood of Grace. The lips and eyes and head of the image moved *on the approach of its votaries*. Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, broke the crucifix at St. Paul's Cross, and showed to the whole people the springs and wheels by which it had been secretly moved.

In this passage Hume makes two, or rather three, assertions. That there was a mechanical or puppet crucifix at Boxley, that

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\* Stow: "*Annals*," p. 575. Vices are screws, joints, mechanism.

† I know only one honourable exception. Collier writes as follows of the monastic churches: "The mistaken reliance and superstitious practice with respect to images and relics is not to be denied, but whether the impostures above mentioned are matter of fact will be a question; for William Thomas, cited by Lord Herbert, is somewhat an exceptional authority." The impostures were the Holy Blood of Hales and the Rood of Grace of Boxley, and one or two others. We shall have to deal with William Thomas by-and-by.

it was shown and destroyed in London, I admit; that the eyes, &c., "moved on the approach of its votaries," is what I deny.

Russell, another historian of the last century, writes as follows:—

At the visitation of the monasteries, prior to the suppression, several astonishing discoveries were made, which tended greatly to lessen the authority of the Romish Priests in the eyes of the people. One of the most singular instruments of deception was found at Boxley in Kent.

Let the reader mark that there are said to have been "several discoveries," while the single instance of Boxley is given, no other instance being ever adduced either by Russell or any other historian. He goes on:

It was a remarkable crucifix, held in the highest veneration, and distinguished by the appellation of the Rood of Grace. It had been often seen to move, to bend, to raise itself, shake its head, hands and feet, roll its eyes, and move its lips. On removing the image it was discovered that the whole was effected by certain springs concealed in the body, which was hollow, from the wall against which it was placed. This instrument of religious deception was brought to London, &c.

The assertion is here made that the crucifix "had often been seen to move."

We shall have to inquire by whom? when? for what purpose were the movements produced, and what was thought of them? We shall find that the only facts proved and certain are that parts of the rood were movable, and that the rood was destroyed.

These two examples will suffice for the older class of historians who merely transcribed from printed books, with various arrangement and more or less skill, but without any independent examination of evidence. Of late years history is supposed to have become a science as well as an art. Historians profess to sift carefully their facts and to go to original sources. Who would not suppose that Mr. Froude was copying from an official report, instead of abridging Foxe, when he writes:

The most famous of the roods was that of Boxley, in Kent, which used to smile and bow, and frown or shake its head, as its worshippers were generous or close-handed.\*

We shall give presently Foxe's statement, as well as official papers hitherto unpublished, and it will be seen whence Mr.

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\* "History," vol. ii. p. 92.

Froude has taken this part at least of his history. But supposing the account to be authentic, the curious reader will no doubt regret that Mr. Froude did not explain the material of which the face was made that could smile and frown. Wood, of course, it was not. Could it be papier maché? but that also is stiff. Was it an early importation of india-rubber or caoutchouc?

A later writer than Mr. Froude is Dr. Hook, the historian of the Archbishops of Canterbury. I transcribe the following page:—

Cromwell wielded the lawful weapons of controversy in the cause of sincerity and truth when he exposed to public gaze the impostures which had been the disgrace of too many monasteries. He exhibited to the astonished multitude the strings and wires and pulleys by which the image, too long worshipped by an idolatrous people, was made to open its eyes, to move its lips, to expand its mouth, and to perform other grimaces indicative of approbation when a wealthy ignoramus made an offering of jewels or of gold. The tricks were played upon pilgrims by the lowest class of persons in the monasteries, and were laughed at by some at the head of affairs. The indignation of all classes was directed against the abbots and priors who, having the power, had abstained from using it. So far they deserved their fate. They confounded credulity with faith, and forgot who is the father of lies.\*

So far Dean Hook. We shall see presently who was the father of lies in this matter. But first I would ask the reader to note the forms of expression in the passage just quoted. Boxley is not mentioned by name, yet it must be the instance referred to, since it is certain that Cromwell exposed to public gaze no other strings and wires but those of the Rood of Grace. Yet "the image" might mean that particular image or it might stand grammatically for, or be meant as typical of, many similar images, and this meaning is certainly suggested by the "many monasteries" spoken of just before, and by the "abbots and priors" just after. So, even were the Boxley imposture proved to be such as Dr. Hook describes it, it is here multiplied indefinitely, and the abbots and priors throughout England are all made to bear the iniquities of the single abbot of Boxley, supposing that he were really guilty. Moreover, the whole matter is narrated as circumstantially as if given on the testimony of a score of eye-witnesses. Yet the grimaces approving the offering of the wealthy ignoramus, and the tricks of the lowest class of the monks, and laughter and connivance of the higher class, all these things are the merest fictions, partly copied from former historians, partly the dean's own invention.

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\* "Lives of the Archbishops," vol. vi. ch. i. p. 92.

It is generally admitted that we cannot compete with our ancestors of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in architecture; and if half the things told us about the Rood of Grace were true, it would be equally certain that we have degenerated in the plastic and mechanical arts; but historians of the nineteenth century assuredly do not fall behind those of the eighteenth or sixteenth in the art of fiction. One more specimen will suffice. The writer of the chapters on The History of Religion in "*Knight's Pictorial History of England*" thus discourses about the Boxley Rood:—

This image was no mere stock, but was endowed with the faculty of replying to the worship and oblations offered to it by various significant gestures, rolling its eyes, bending its brows, moving its lips, shaking its head, hands and feet, courteously inclining its whole body when it was pleased with what was set before it, and by some other equally expressive piece of pantomime denoting its dissatisfaction and rejection of the applicant's prayer. This must be admitted [remarks this philosophical historian] to have been an ingenious piece of mechanism for an age in which the general ignorance of mechanical science was gross enough to allow of its being put forward as something supernatural.

I must be excused for parodying this author by saying that "it must be admitted that his description is an ingenious piece of fiction for an age in which the general ignorance of critical science is gross enough to allow of its being put forward as something historical." It is really amazing and prodigious that serious authors, one after another, for three centuries, could record these things without submitting them to the most elementary examination. They read how Henry VII. made offerings to the Rood of Grace,\* and how his son Henry VIII. detected the imposture and indignantly destroyed it; and it seems to them in no way surprising that acute men like Henry VII. should have been befooled by the monks, and in no way to be suspected that astute men like Thomas Cromwell should have got up a false charge against the monks.

The proper way to proceed in the examination of this matter is that ordinarily followed in a court of justice. Let each witness, after making his accusation, have his testimony sifted, to test its intrinsic coherency; then let the evidence of the various witnesses be compared, to see whether they agree, or contradict one another. After that, the case for the defence may be stated and witnesses called in favour of the accused.

Before quoting, or examining the evidence, I think it necessary

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\* On July 31, 1492, he sends an offering from Sittingbourne of 4s. "*Excerpta Historica*," p. 91.

to say something by way of explanation. It is quite evident that our historians, from Herbert and Hume downwards, have taken for granted that if there was really a crucifix at Boxley, an object of pilgrimage, and in construction such as it is described by Stow, "made with divers vices to move the eyes and lips," then the imposture is proved. For what other purpose could such a crucifix serve but to deceive pilgrims? And what other object could there be in the deception but to get their money? So, having assured themselves that there really was such a crucifix, they think the exact particulars are immaterial, and thus freely enlarge on the fashion of the Rood and on the credulity of the worshippers. The story, they think, will be substantially true, though some few details may not be capable of proof. Nor should I contest the matter with them, were the question merely as to the more or less of an admitted imposture. I deny the imposture. I admit the mechanism, but maintain that the existence of the mechanism gives no presumption whatever of trickery, that it had a perfectly legitimate purpose and use; and I deny that there is any particle of evidence of a single case of imposture, or even to justify a suspicion of imposture.

In a passage just quoted an author speaks of the Rood of Grace as having been "an ingenious piece of mechanism for an age in which the general ignorance of mechanical science was gross enough to allow of its being put forward as something supernatural." Now if the mechanism did not go much beyond what is described by Stow, the movement of eyes and lips, and perhaps of some joints—and that it did not shall soon be proved beyond gainsay—it was in no way extraordinary for that age, and there was no more likelihood of its being considered supernatural *on that account*, than there is of the waxwork figures in Madame Tussaud's exhibition being taken for living men and women by modern visitors. Puppets and pageantry were more familiar things then than now. Let any one open the pages of Hall the chronicler, and read his long and (to us) tiresome accounts of the pageants of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., and he will see at once how delighted both people and princes were with ingenious mechanism.

The accusers of the monks seem instinctively to have felt this difficulty, and have therefore not been satisfied with describing the Rood as it was. They have vied with one another in inventing details, the contrivance of which would baffle any artificer of the present day. Though such things were historically impossible, they were necessary for consistency, seeing that the pilgrims to Boxley were not mere country bumpkins, but lords and ladies, kings and queens, bishops and archbishops;



and it had to be made plausible how all these should have been taken in by the wonderful imposture.

Pageantry and mechanism in that age were not confined to marriage and coronation processions of kings and queens. They had been used in churches in miracle plays (as they were called), and even in permanent contrivances of devotion.

Alderman Gosiman, of Hull, left in 1502, by his will, a sum of £40 in honour of the Blessed Sacrament, in order to construct at the high altar some machinery by which angels should ascend to the roof of the church and descend again, from the elevation of the Sacred Host to the end of the Pater Noster.\* Even in our own day in some churches in Bavaria and the Tyrol, as I have learnt from eye-witnesses, a figure above the high altar representing Our Lord in His agony in the Garden, is made to kneel, to prostrate itself, and to rise again, while the preacher describes the scene; and on the Ascension a figure rises into the air and disappears in the roof. A gentleman informs me that he has seen in Belgium a crucifix used formerly in the ceremonial of Holy Week. On Good Friday the arms could be depressed, so that it could be laid, together with the Blessed Sacrament, in the Sepulchre until Easter Sunday morning. The Sacred Host was placed inside the breast of the figure, behind a crystal. At the Resurrection the figure was gorgeously dressed and one arm raised in benediction, and placed seated above the high altar. It is needless to say that in all this there was pageantry, childish pageantry if you like, but no imposture.

In England the Rood was generally laid, together with the Blessed Sacrament, in the sepulchre on Good Friday; and in some of the greater churches the Sacred Host, when taken from the sepulchre early on Easter morning, was enclosed, behind a berill or crystal, in the breast of a figure of our risen Lord. Now it would be antecedently probable enough that, in some cases, instead of using two distinct figures, one figure, with eyes made to open and close, and jointed limbs, might serve for both purposes. By a fortunate chance the record of one such figure has survived, and it was in existence at St. Paul's Church, London, at the very time that the Boxley Rood was burnt at St. Paul's Cross. Wriothesley records in his Chronicle, that on the 29th of November, 1547, the first of Edward VI., being the first Sunday of Advent, Dr. Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, preached at Paul's Cross—

Where he showed a picture [*i.e.*, painted figure] of the resurrection of Our Lord made with vices [*i.e.*, movable joints], which put out

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\* "*Testamenta Eborac.*," p. 209.

his legs of sepulchre and blessed with his hand, and turned his head, and there stood afore the pulpit the image of Our Lady, which they of Paul's had lapped in cere-cloth, which was hid in a corner of Paul's Church, and found by the visitors in their visitation. And in his sermon he declared the great abomination of idolatry in images, with other feigned ceremonies contrary to Scripture, to the extolling of God's glory, and to the great comfort of the audience. After the sermon the boys broke the idols in pieces.\*

Dr. Sparrow Simpson, a recent historian of Old St. Paul's, after quoting this passage, makes the following reflection: "It is easy to understand that the exhibition of these mechanical figures, skilfully contrived to deceive the worshippers, must have greatly stimulated the zeal of the reformers."† Dr. Simpson has clearly not understood the words he quoted, or he could never have made such a comment. "Skilfully contrived to deceive the worshippers"! Why! there is not the most distant hint at deception. As well say that an artist's lay-figure, with its movable joints and neck, is a delusion and a snare. The vices or screws of the joints would be visible to the most short-sighted; and really Englishmen before the Reformation were not the idiots that some would seem to suppose.

Besides this use of the crucifix, it must be remembered that in the middle ages the Rood did not merely call to mind Our Divine Redeemer's sufferings, but especially His triumph; the Cross had become a Throne: *Regnat a ligno Deus*. Hence the figure was sometimes crowned, not with thorns, but with a diadem of gold or silver, and wore royal robes. This was the case throughout Europe, and may be illustrated by Kentish documents of the sixteenth century. In Archbishop Warham's visitation of 1511, a charge was brought against a layman for neglecting to furnish "a pair of silver shoes for the Rood of Chislet," in accordance with an obligation left on a house he had inherited.‡ When Richard Master, the rector of Aldington, in Kent, was, just four years previous to the suppression of Boxley, attainted and executed for high treason in the affair of the Maid of Kent, an inventory was made of the goods in his presbytery. Among them were found "two coats belonging to the Cross of Rudhill, whereupon hung thirty-three pieces of money, rings and other things, and three crystal stones closed in silver."§ The purpose of these coats and shoes was evidently for dressing up the crucifixes on Easter Day or other festivals. If, then, a figure could be made at one time to represent death by closed eyelids,

\* "Wriothesley's Chronicle," vol. ii. p. 1. (Camden Soc.)

† "Chapters in the History of Old St. Paul's," p. 290.

‡ "Diocesan History of Canterbury," by Canon Jenkins, p. 230.

§ "Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.," vol. vii. n. 521.

fallen jaw and drooping neck ; at another life, by mouth closed, opened eyes, head erect and hand raised in benediction, it would carry out more vividly the purposes for which we know that roods were used, and would have no touch of trickery about it.

Whether the Rood of Boxley was ever thus treated cannot be now shown ; but that it was originally designed for some such purpose will be made clear by the documents that I shall now adduce. First of all must come the witnesses for the accusation, and not only I shall not pass over any one that I have seen quoted or referred to, but I shall bring in the first place a document, which, though it is evidently the first in order of time and importance, has never yet seen the light.\* It is a letter of one of the commissioners sent out by Cromwell for the suppression of the monasteries. As it is hitherto unpublished I shall give it in the original spelling, a course which will not be necessary when giving documents that have been already printed :

Jeffrey Chambers to T. Cromwell, Feb. 15th.†

Upon the defacing of the late monasterye of Boxley and plucking down of the images of the same, I found in the Image of the Roode of Grace, the which heretofore hadde ben hadde in great veneracion of people, certen ingynes and olde wyer with olde roton stykes in the backe of the same that dyd cause the eyes of the same to move and sterve in the hede therof lyke unto a lyvelye thyng. And also the nether lippe in lykewise to move as though it shulde speke. Which so founde wires nott a litle strange to me and other that was present at the pluckinge downe of the same.

Whereupon the abbott herynge this, dyd thether resorte whom to my litle wit and conyng with other the olde monkes I dyd examyen of ther knowleg of the premisses. Who do declare themselves to be ignorant of the same. So remyttyng the further ‡ of the premisses unto your goode lordeshipe when they shal repayer unto London. Neverthelesse the sayde abbot is sore seke that as yett he is not able to come.

Further, when I hadde scene this strange subject, and considering that thinhabitants of the cuntie of Kent hadd yn tyme past a greates devocion to the same and to use continuall pillgramage thether, by thadvise of other that wer her w<sup>t</sup> me dyd convey the syed image unto Mayston this present Thursday, then beyng the markt day, and in the cheff of the markt tyme dyd shew itt openly unto all the people, ther beyng present to see the false crafty and sottile handelyng therof, to the dishonor of God and illusion of the sayd people, whoo I dare say that if in case the sayd late monasterye were to be defaced

\* I owe it to the kindness of Dom Gasquet, O.S.B. The original document is in the Record Office, in the Cromwell Correspondence, vol. v. f. 210.

† The date is 7th Feb. at end of letter.

‡ A word, such as "examining," must be supplied.

agayne (the kyng's grace not offendyd) they wold aither plucke itt down to the grounde or ells burne it, for they have the sayd matter in wonderous detestacion and hatred as att my repayr unto your good lordeshippe and bryngyng the same image w<sup>t</sup> me, whereuppon I do somewhatt tarrye and for the further defacyng of the sayd late monasterye I shall declare unto youe. And thus almyghty Jesu p'serve youe to hys pleasure w<sup>t</sup> good liff and long.

At Maydeston the vii. day of Feb.

Yor mooste bounden,

JEFFRAY CHAMBER.

Before examining this letter I will give one, written about three weeks later, by another of these commissioners. The abbey of Boxley had been surrendered to the king on January 29, 1538, the monastery had then been "defaced," *i.e.*, the house stript of all its plate and furniture and other valuables, and the church of its shrines, chalices, vestments, and then the sacred images "plucked down" to be burnt or otherwise maltreated, if they were of wood, to be cast into the melting-pot if they were of silver or gold. On the following Thursday, the 7th of February, it had been exposed to derision in the market-place at Maidstone, and thence conveyed to London. On the 23rd it was exposed and destroyed at St. Paul's Cross. Some time in February (before the 23rd) Robert Southwell had visited Cromwell for his instructions before proceeding to Northampton. From Northampton he writes to Cromwell on the 3rd March :—

These poor men (the monks of Northampton) have not spared to confess the truth, and I daresay in their hearts think themselves rather to have merited pardon by their ignorance, than praise or laud by their former way of living.

By confession *of the truth* Southwell means the signing of the usual formula, which was the condition of their receiving a pension, in which they confess that regular observance was vain superstition. The Northampton monks, it seems, had been threatened and cajoled into this declaration. Southwell then adds :—

Whether there was cause why that Boxley should recognise as much or more it may please you to judge, whom it also pleased to show me the idol that stood there, in mine opinion a very monstrous object.\*

These two letters comprise what may be called the official documents regarding the Rood of Grace. At least they were written by officials. Who were the men who thus wrote? What

\* Printed in Wright's Letters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries, p. 172 (Camden Society). Canon Dixon in his recent Church History, makes Southwell the visitor of Boxley, with other inaccuracies.

purpose had they in thus writing? What is it that they tell as fact, and what is it that they tell as their own opinion? To the first question I answer without hesitation that they were men employed by Cromwell as the fittest tools he could find for a sacrilegious work. They were sent out, not merely to get the submission of the monks, but to do all they could to blacken their character. "The king, having the dissolution of the remaining monasteries in view," writes Collier, "thought it necessary to lessen their reputation, to lay open the superstition of their worship, and to draw a charge of imposture upon some of them." As Cromwell's jackals, the commissioners wished to get from their master some part of the spoil. To obtain this they wrote what would please him and the king.

What does Southwell tell us as a fact, apart from his own opinion that the Rood of Grace was an "idol," and "a very monstrous object?" Nothing whatever. But he insinuates that it would be ground sufficient to get some *confession* from the Boxley monks that they had practised imposture. Was such a confession ever obtained? Certainly not. A charge was made by Cromwell, but neither proof against the monks, nor acknowledgment on their part was ever produced or even pretended. What does Jeffrey Chambers tell us? That he found "old wire and old rotten sticks" at the back of the image. The mechanism was evidently not in repair. If it had been ever used, it had long been out of use. The abbot and old monks declare they knew nothing about it. Chambers does not say that he has proof to the contrary. He does not say that he has any witnesses to bring to London, who will tell of the moving eyes and mouth, or that such things had ever been reputed as miracles. He does not say that there was any secret approach to the back of the rood, in the wall or pillar against which it stood, by which the wires and sticks might have been secretly manipulated. This is surely a difficulty, and it was evidently felt to be a difficulty, for Fox, the lying martyrologist, in order to get over it, says that "a man stood inclosed within the rood with a hundred wires."\* The sum of all the official documents is the discovery that the famous Rood was a mechanical figure of which the mechanism was apparently disused, and that it afforded a convenient pretext, not for proving any distinct act of trickery, but for connecting the fame of former miracles with a plausible, but vague, charge of imposture.

I now turn to the contemporary, or nearly contemporary writers to whom reference is made by modern historians. The first in order of importance, though not the earliest, is William

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\* The whole passage will be given presently.

Lambard, author of a "Perambulation of Kent," written in 1570. He is by far the most full, and the only writer who professes to quote Catholic documents. After a brief description of Boxley he continues as follows:—

If I should thus leave Boxley, the favourers of false and feigned religion [Catholics] would laugh in their sleeves, and the followers of God's truth might justly cry out and blame me. For it is fresh in mind to both sides, and shall I doubt not, to the profit of the one, be continued, in perpetual memory to all posterity, by what notable imposture, fraud, juggling, and legerdemain, the silly lambs of God's flock were no long since seduced by the false Romish foxes at this abbey. The manner whereof I will set down in such sort only, as the same was sometime by themselves published in print for their estimation and credit, and yet remaineth deeply imprinted in the minds and memories of many alive, and to their everlasting reproach, shame, and confusion.

It chanced, as the tale is, that upon a time, a cunning carpenter of our country was taken prisoner in the wars between us and France, who wanting [*i.e.*, having no means] otherwise to satisfy for his ransom, and having good leisure to devise for his deliverance, thought it best to attempt some curious enterprise within the compass of his own art and skill to make himself some money withal. And, therefore, getting together fit matter for his purpose, he compacted of wood, wire, paste and paper a rood of such exquisite art and excellence that it not only matched in comeliness and due proportion of the parts the best of the common sort, but in strange motion, variety of gesture and nimbleness of joints, passed all other that before had been seen; the same being able to bow down and lift up itself, to shake and stir the hands and feet, to nod the head, to roll the eyes, to wag the chaps, to bend the brows, and finally to represent to the eye both the proper motion of each member of the body, and also a lively, express and significant show of a well-contented or displeased mind, biting the lip, and gathering a frowning, froward, and disdainful face when it would pretend offence, and showing a most mild, amiable, and smiling cheer and countenance when it would seem to be well pleased. So that now it needed not Prometheus fire to make it a lively man, but only the help of the covetous priests of Bel, or the aid of some crafty college of monks, to deify and make it pass for a very god.

This done, he made shift for his liberty, came over into the realm of purpose to utter his merchandise, and laid the image upon the back of a jade that he drave before him. Now when he was come as far as Rochester on his way he waxed dry by reason of travel, and called at an alehouse for drink to refresh him, suffering his horse nevertheless to go forward alone along the city. This jade was no sooner out of sight but he missed the strait western way that his master intended to have gone, and turning south made a great pace toward Boxley, and being driven, as it were, by some divine fury, never ceased jogging till he came at the abbey church-door, where he so beat and bounced with his heels that divers of the monks heard the noise, came to the place

to know the cause, and marvelling at the strangeness of the thing, called the abbot and his convent to behold it.

These good men seeing the horse so earnest and discerning what he had on his back, for doubt of deadly impiety opened the door, which they had no sooner done but the horse rushed in and ran in great haste to a pillar, which was the very place where this image was afterwards advanced, and there stopped himself and stood still.

Now, while the monks were busy to take off the load, in cometh the carpenter, that by great inquisition had followed, and he challenged his horse. The monks, loth to lose so beneficial a stray, at the first made some denial, but afterward, being assured by all signs that he was the very proprietary, they grant him to take it with him. The carpenter then taketh the horse by the head and first essayeth to lead him out of the church, but he would not stir for him, then beateth he and striketh him, but the jade was so resty and fast-nailed that he would not once move his foot from the pillar. At the last he taketh off the image, thinking to have carried it out by itself, and then to have led the horse after, but that also cleaved so fast to the place that notwithstanding all that even he and the monks also, which at the length were contented for pity's sake to help him, could do—it would not be moved one inch from it. So that in the end, partly of weariness in wrestling, and partly by persuasion of the monks, which were in love with the picture, and made him believe that it was by God himself destinate to their house, the carpenter was contented for a piece of money to go his way and leave the rood behind him.

But what? I shall not need to report how lowly these monks, to their own enriching and the spoil of God's people, abused this wooden god after they had thus gotten him, because a good sort be yet alive that saw the fraud openly detected at Paul's Cross, and others may read it disclosed in books extant and commonly abroad.

Neither will I labour to compare it throughout with the Trojan Palladium, which was a picture of wood that could shake a spear and roll the eyes as lively as this rood did, and which, falling from heaven, chose itself a place in the temple as wisely as the carpenter's horse did, and had otherwise so great convenience and agreement with our image that a man would easily believe the device had been taken from thence. But I will only note for my purpose, and the place's sake, that even as they fancied that Troy was upholden by that image, and that the taking of it away by Diomedes and Ulysses brought destruction, by sentence of the oracle, upon their city, so the town of Boxley, which stood chiefly by the abbey, was, through the discovery and defacing of this idol and another (wrought by Cranmer and Cromwell) according to the just judgment of God, hastened to utter decay and beggary.

Before quoting the rest of Lambard's story, we may pause here to consider the relation just given. Lambard was a lawyer, and ought not to object to cross-examination. No one will maintain that this whole story is a pure invention of Lambard's. He must have got the substance of it, as he says he did, from some Catholic



documents, once spread about widely, and now apparently lost. What is the substance of the story? It is that, as regards the Rood itself, there was no attempt whatever at concealment or imposture. It was published abroad by the monks that the Rood was the work of a clever carpenter, that it was a piece of mechanism. There was no pretence that its movements were miraculous. It was not even a monkish invention. It was the work of a layman. It had not been originally contrived with a view to trickery, nor offered to the monks for such a purpose. Lambard, indeed, finds a parallel in the Trojan Palladium, so that "a man would believe that the device had been taken from thence." But the monks did *not* say that their Rood dropped from heaven, nor that its action was celestial. Its arrival at Boxley they may have considered providential or even miraculous, though of course it is evident that the comic scene of "tug monks, tug crucifix," till the former give up for sheer "weariness of wrestling," is not copied literally from the original documents. Neither of course is the description of the Rood itself. The arms may have been movable, and we know that the eyes and lower lip could move, but the smiles and frowns, the knitted brow, the moving cheeks, the biting of the lip, are a mere fancy portrait, of which we shall have some more specimens presently. If his work in any way corresponded to these descriptions, the carpenter made a bad bargain in selling it to the monks "for a piece of money." A thousand would not purchase it now.

Lambard thus continues his narrative :

And now, since I am fallen into mention of that other image which was honoured at this place, I will not stick to bestow a few words for the detection thereof also, as well for that it was as very an illusion as the former, as also for that the use of them was so linked together that the one cannot thoroughly be understood without the other; for this was the order :—If you minded to have benefit by the Rood of Grace, you ought first to be shriven of one of the monks. Then by lifting of this other image, which was untruly of the common sort called St. Grumbald, for St. Rumwald, you should make proof whether you were in clean life (as they called it) or no. And if you so found yourself, then was your way prepared, and your offering acceptable before the Rood. If not, then it behoved you to be confessed anew, for it was to be thought that you had concealed somewhat from your ghostly dad, and therefore not yet worthy to be admitted Ad Sacra Eleusina.

Now, that you may know how this examination was to be made, you must understand that this St. Rumwald was the picture of a pretty boy-saint of stone, standing in the same church, of itself short, and not seeming to be heavy; but forasmuch as it was wrought out of a great and weighty stone, being the base thereof, it was hardly to be lifted by the hands of the strongest man. Nevertheless, such was the conveyance, by the help of an engine fixed to the back thereof, it was easily



prised up with the foot of him that was the keeper, and therefore of no moment at all in the hands of such as had offered frankly. And contrariwise, by the means of a pin running into a post, which that religious impostor, standing out of sight, could put in and pull out at his pleasure, it was, to such as offered faintly, so fast and unmoveable that no force of hand might once stir it. Insomuch, as many times it moved more laughter than devotion to behold a great lubber to lift at that in vain, which a young boy or wench had easily taken up before him. I wist that chaste virgins and honest married matrons went oftentimes away with blushing faces, leaving (without cause) in the minds of the lookers-on great suspicion of unclean life and wanton behaviour; for fear of which note and villany women (of all other) stretched their purse-strings, and sought by liberal offering to make St. Rumwald's man their good friend and favourer.\*

But mark here, I beseech you, their policy in picking plain men's purses. It was in vain (as they persuaded) to presume to the Rood without shrift; yea and money lost there also, if you offered before you were in clean life; and therefore the matter was so handled, that without treble oblation, that is to say, first to the confessor, then to St. Rumwald, and lastly to the Gracious Rood, the poor pilgrims could not assure themselves of any good gained by all their labour. No more than such as go to Paris Garden, Belle Savage, or Theatre, to behold bear-baiting, interludes, or fence-play, can account of any pleasant spectacle, unless they first pay one penny at the gate, another at the entry of the scaffold, and the third for a quiet standing.

Such is the account of the pilgrimage to the Rood of Grace given by this veracious lawyer. It might seem very unlikely that, at this distance of time, we should have any means of testing the statement about the triple offering. Fortunately, Sir Harris Nicolas has printed the Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York, Queen of Henry VII., for the year 1502. Being unwell in the spring of that year, and unable herself to go on pilgrimage, she sent some of her chaplains as messengers to various shrines, there to pray and make offerings in her name. One of these, Richard Milner, was sent into Kent. He was absent 13 days, and was paid at a fixed rate for his travelling expenses and reimbursed for his various oblations. In the bill, therefore, handed in to the steward for payment, nothing, however small, was omitted. (It will be a moderate estimation if we multiply each sum in his account by twelve, to represent its value in modern money.) His expenses then were 10*d.* (or we may say 10*s.*) a day. His journey was as follows: To Our Lady of Crowham (near Croydon), offering, 2*s.* 6*d.*; to the Rood of Grace at Boxley, offering, 1*s.* 8*d.*; to Canterbury, where four oblations are specified, viz., to St. Thomas 5*s.*, Our Lady of Undercroft 5*s.*,

\* Did the young boys and wenches, who lifted it so easily, as he has just said, also pay heavily?

St. Adrian 1s. 8d., St. Augustine 1s. 8d. ; to Dover, where the offering at Our Lady's shrine was 1s. 8d. Thence the messenger returns to London : At the Rood at the North Door of St. Paul's Cathedral, 1s. 8d. ; to Our Lady of Grace in St. Paul's, 1s. 8d. ; to St. Ignasi (*sic*), 1s. 8d. ; in the Blackfriars Church, to St. Dominick, 1s. 8d. ; to St. Peter of Milan, 1s. ; in the Franciscan Church, to St. Francis, 1s. 8d. ; to St. Saviour (in Southwark), 2s. 6d. ; to Our Lady of Piew at Westminster, 2s. 6d. ; to Our Lady of Barking (at Allhallows Church, near the Tower), 2s. 6d. ; to Our Lady of Willesden, 2s. 6d.\* From this list, then, it appears that one offering only was made at Boxley, not a triple offering, and that it was one of the most moderate. No offering whatever was made to St. Rumwald, no gift to the confessor.

Of course this single case is not proposed as a logical and conclusive refutation of a general statement ; but at least it is an authentic piece of evidence, and as such worth more than Lambard's unsupported assertions. There are many entries in documents that have come down to us of offerings to the Rood of Grace, but I do not remember any notice of a triple or double offering in this Church. Nor do the other accusers of the monks make any mention of St. Rumwald. According to Lambard, it was a second imposture, enhancing the principal one. Yet his tale holds badly together. If the pilgrims knew that the Rood was worked by machinery, how was it they suspected no mechanical contrivance in St. Rumwald's statue ? A pin to keep a post firm, or a lever worked by the foot, are no recondite artifices, that they should be unsuspected in any place ; but the presence of a work of art like the Crucifix must have suggested a similar mechanism in St. Rumwald, even to boors or children. In the absence of documents, it seems to me quite possible that there was, in some part of the Church of Boxley, some old stone block, or statue, and that a sacristan may have sometimes made a little innocent fun with the pilgrims, by fastening or withdrawing a bolt, and getting up a laugh at those who could not lift, as if they were prevented by some hidden sin. I would not assert that such was the case ; but if it were so, it would be analogous to many bits of fun not unknown in our own days. The visitors to Ripon will remember the underground remains of the ancient

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\* It is curious how historians use their materials. Miss Strickland, in writing the life of Elizabeth *the Good* had all this, and much more of the same sort, before her, and says nothing whatever about it. It would have been difficult for a Protestant writer to explain such "superstitious" veneration of Saints and Holy Images in a queen so holy and prudent as the wife of Henry VII. Had Elizabeth detected, or sneered at, or destroyed the Rood of Grace, as did her brutal son, Henry VIII., would Miss Strickland have omitted to mention it ?

abbey still shown in the crypt, and how ladies were invited to go through a small window, called, if I remember rightly, St. Wilfrid's needle, as a proof of their chastity, or to obtain good luck in marriage. The verger certainly affirmed to the present writer that an Anglican archbishop's wife had recently done the feat. In Merry England such things may have been done, but not more seriously than now.

We have heard one of the early accusers of the monks. His story, when stripped of its dressings-up, is not very formidable. Yet it is the only one that even professes to recount the real origin and nature of the Rood; while he—and he alone—appeals to Catholic testimony “in such sort only as the same was by themselves published in print.” His story is indeed not without some difficulty. If these printed accounts of the fabrication of the Rood were in circulation at the time of the suppression, how could the abbot and his monks declare their ignorance of the existence of the “engines”? Or, if they knew of them, why should they not at once have appealed to the printed papers, to show that there had been no attempt to conceal anything from the people? However it may be, if Lambard is telling a lie, in saying that he is using Catholic documents about the making of the Rood, and its coming to Boxley, his testimony on every other point may be set aside also. For my part I do not doubt this part of his tale. He is evidently a bigoted false witness, and dresses his facts with so many exaggerations that no detail can be trusted. But his public statement, made less than half a century after the suppression, that he drew his tale from widely circulated papers, must have had some foundation. Besides this, the story is not one that he would have been likely to have invented. The part taken from the Catholic histories does not harmonize with his accusation of imposture. Had he been a mere inventor of a story, he would more probably have said that the monks boasted that their wondrous Crucifix fell from Heaven, whereas a document had been found, when the papers of the abbey were seized, showing how it was bought from a clever carpenter. One thing, however, all must admit; had he produced a document containing the confession of the monks, or a record of their trial and conviction, it would have been much more to his purpose. But no such document was in existence.

We may now pass on to other accusers and examine their evidence. Wriothesley, a Londoner and a contemporary, is a great approver of all Henry's proceedings. He was accustomed to set down things as he knew them, and is generally accurate as regards what fell under his own notice. His account is as follows:—

This year in February, there was an image of the crucifix of Christ, which had been used of long continuance for a great pilgrimage at the

abbey of Boxley, by Maidstone, in Kent, called the Rood of Grace, taken from thence and brought to the King at Westminster, for certain idolatry and craft that had been perceived in the said Rood. For it was made to move the eyes and lips by strings of hair, when they would show a miracle, and never perceived till now. The Archbishop of Canterbury had searched the said image in his visitation, and so, at the King's commandment, was taken thence, that the people might leave their idolatry that had been there used.

I interrupt the narrative to observe that, though Wriothesley's description of the Rood, which he may have seen, is accurate, and corresponds with Jeffrey Chambers's account, he is misinformed as to what happened at Boxley. It was not the Archbishop who made the discovery, nor the King who ordered the removal. That the eyes and lips were moved "when they would show a miracle" is not the testimony of a witness, but an echo of the London talk, and of the reports set afloat by Cromwell. He continues :—

Also the said Rood was set in the market place first at Maidstone, and there showed openly to the people the craft of moving the eyes and lips, that all the people there might see the illusion that had been used in the said image by the monks of the said place of many years, time out of mind, whereby they had gotten great riches in deceiving the people, thinking that the said image had so moved by the power of God, which now plainly appeared to the contrary.

This, again, is the story as it reached London. But there is no proof of any kind that the miracles, for which the Rood was famous, had anything to do with the machinery. As to the great riches, an authentic document will be produced presently to show that the abbey was too poor to pay the subsidy in 1524, being much in debt. Shortly afterwards Wriothesley returns to the subject thus :—

This year, the 24th day of February, being the Sunday of Sexagesima and St. Matthias-day, the image of the Rood that was at the abbey of Boxley was brought to Paul's Cross, and there at the sermon made by the Bishop of Rochester, the abuses of the graces (? vices), and engines used in old times in the said image was declared, which image was made of paper and clouts from the legs upward ; each leg and arms were of timber. And so the people had been deluded and caused to do great idolatry by the said image, of long continuance, to the derogation of God's honour, and great blasphemy of the Name of God, as he substantially declared in his said sermon, by Scripture ; and also how other images in the Church, used for great pilgrimages, hath caused great idolatry to be used in this realm ; and showed how he thinketh that the idolatry will never be left till the said images be taken away ; and that the boxes that they have to gather the devotions of the people were taken away first, so that they should have nothing

used to put the charity of the people in, but if there were any persons that would offer to such images that the said offering might be given incontinent to poor people; and that the people should be showed how they should offer no more to the said images. He doubted not but then in short time they would grant that the said images might be taken away.\*. . . After that sermon was done, the bishop took the said image of the Rood into the pulpit and broke the vice of the same, and after gave it to the people again, and then the rude people and boys brake the said image in pieces, so that they left not one piece whole.†

This passage, besides the opinions of the preacher, and of his chronicler regarding idolatry, which are of no importance, tells us the nature of the Rood. It was of "paper and clouts," probably a rude kind of papier maché. It gives us also the valuable information that the offerings of pilgrims were dropped into boxes (or trunks as they were sometimes called); and, if so, the exhibitors of the image, supposing there were such, of which there is no evidence, would not be able to know whether the offerings were great or small.

We may now pass on to another class of accusers and examine their evidence. Burnet writes:—

The discovery of the cheats in images, and counterfeits in relics, contributed not a little to the monks' disgrace. Among them that of Boxley, in Kent, was one of the most enormous. Among the papers that were sent me from Zurich, there is a letter written by the minister of Maidstone to Bullinger that describes such an image (if it is not the same) so particularly that I have put it in the Collection.

The letter, written in ambitious Erasmian Latin, was also printed by Colomies in his "Select Epistles of Illustrious Men," and by the late Mr. Gorham in his "Reformation Gleanings." It is not found among the Zurich letters of the Parker Society. I give it in Mr. Gorham's literal translation:—

The Azotic Dagon falls down everywhere in this country. That Babylonian Bell hath already been broken in pieces. There was lately discovered a wooden god of the Kentish folk, a hanging Christ, who might have vied with Proteus himself. For he was able most cunningly to nod with his head, to scowl with his eyes, to wag his beard, to curve his body, to reject and to receive the prayers of pilgrims. This (puppet) when the pied monks lost their craft, was found in their Church, begirded with many an offering, enriched with gifts, linen, waxen, rural, oppidan and foreign. That energetic man, the brother

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\* A short passage follows regarding a relic at Hales, in Gloucestershire.

† "Chronicle," i. 74-76, (Camden Soc., 1875.)

of our Nicolas Partridge,\* got scent of the cheat. He loosened him, fixed as he had been to the wall, from his pedestal. The artifices are disclosed, the wonderful and Polypean juggler is caught. Throughout his channeled body were hidden pipes, in which the master of the mysteries had introduced, through little apertures, a ductile wire; the passages being nevertheless concealed by thin plates. By such contrivances he had demented the people of Kent—aye, the whole of England—for several ages, with much gain. Being laid open he afforded a sportive sight, first of all to my Maidstonians,† exhibiting himself from a lofty platform to a crowded throng, some laughing heartily, some almost as mad as Ajax. The stroller was taken hence to London. He paid a visit to the Royal Court. This new guest saluted the king himself after a novel fashion. Courtiers, barons, dukes, marquises, earls swarm round him like bees. They come from a distance, stand around, stare and look him through and through. He acts, scowls with his eyes, turns his face away, distorts his nostrils, casts down his head, sets up a hump-back, assents and dissents. They stare, they deride, they wonder, the theatre rings with their voices, the shout flies into the sky. It is difficult to say whether the king was more pleased, on account of the detection of the imposture, or more grieved at heart that the miserable people had been imposed upon for so many ages. What need is there for so many words? The matter was referred to the Council. After a few days a sermon was preached by the Bishop of Rochester (John Hilsey). The Kentish Bel stands opposite to Daniel, erected on the upper part of the pulpit, so that he may be conveniently seen by all. Here again he opens himself, here again the player acts the part skilfully. They wonder, they are indignant, they stare, they are ashamed to find they have been so deluded by a puppet. Then when the preacher began to wax warm, and the Word of God to work secretly in the hearts of the hearers, the wooden trunk was hurled neck-over-heels among the most crowded of the audience. And now was heard a tremendous clamour of all sorts of people. He is snatched, torn, broken in pieces bit by bit, split up into a thousand fragments, and at last thrown into the fire, and thus was an end of him.—John Hoker.

Other Calvinistic letters are preserved which show how the news reached the Continent, and though they add no real information, and cannot be quoted as testimony of witnesses, they are instructive as showing the growth of the lie.

William Peterson, who is living somewhere on the Continent, writes :—

As to the news which you desire of me, I have not any, except that

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\* Mr. Gorham says: "Of Lenham, near Maidstone." Chambers in his letter to Cromwell takes all the credit of the discovery to himself, and does not even mention Partridge, while Wriothelsey attributes it to Cranmer.

† Why does Burnet call Hoker "Minister" of Maidstone in 1538?

the images, which formerly used to work miracles in England, are now, as I hear, broken in pieces, and the imposture of the priests is made known to everyone. And to mention to you one idol and imposture in particular, you must know that there was in England an image which at times used to move its mouth and eyes, to weep, and to nod in sign of dissent or assent before the bystanders. These things were managed by the ingenuity of the priests standing out of sight, but the imposture is now notorious to every person in England.\*

Another Calvinist, named John Finch, also residing on the Continent, probably at Frankfort, writes to Strasburg:

A German merchant here, who is well acquainted with the English language, told me as a certain fact that all the images that used to work miracles by the artifice of the devil and his angels, that is to say the monks, friars, and fish-eaters, and others of that stamp, were conveyed on horseback to London, at the command of the bishop; that a public sermon was preached from the pulpit of St. Paul's to the congregation assembled in Christ; after which a certain image, brought away from Kent, and called in English the Rood of Grace in Kent, was first exhibited. The preacher, the Bishop of Rochester, explained all the trickery and imposture in the presence of the people. By means of some person pulling a cord, most artfully contrived and ingeniously inserted at the back, the image rolled about its eyes just like a living creature; and on the pulling of other cords it gave a nod of assent or dissent according to the occasion. It never restored health to any sick person, notwithstanding great numbers afflicted with divers diseases were carried to it, and laid prostrate before it, unless some one disguised himself of set purpose, and pretended to be sick; in which case it would give a nod, as though promising the restoration of health, that it might by this means confirm its imposture. Then, again, by some contrivance unknown to me, it opened and shut its mouth; and to make an end of my story at once, after all its tricks had been exposed to the people, it was broken into small pieces.†

Lastly, Nicholas Partridge, the brother of the famous discoverer of the "lying wonder," writes from Frankfort to his friend Bul-linger:

A certain German, who belongs to one of the merchant companies residing in London, has told us some marvellous stories respecting some saints, which were formerly fixed and immoveable at some distance from London, namely, that they have now ridden to London, and performed most wonderful miracles in a numerous assembly. Concerning the bearded crucifix of Kent, called in our language the Rood of Grace near Maidstone, he told us that while the Bishop of Rochester was preaching at Paul's Cross to a most crowded congregation of nobility and others, in the presence too of many other

\* Zurich Letters (Parker Society) p. 664.

† *Ib.* p. 606.



famous saints of wood and stone, it turned its head about, rolled its eyes, foamed at the mouth, and poured forth tears down its cheeks. The bishop had before thundered forth against these images. The satellite saints of the Kentish image acted in pretty much the same way. It is expected that the Virgin of Walsingham and St. Thomas of Canterbury, and likewise some other images will soon perform their miracles in the same place, which, of what character they are, you may, I think, judge for yourself. For the trickery of the wicked knaves was so publicly exposed in the image of the crucifix, that every one was indignant against the monks and impostors of that kind, and execrated both the idols and those who worshipped them.\*

The foaming at the mouth and copious tears are picturesque additions to the other narratives, and do great credit to the ingenuity of the monks—or to Mr. Partridge's veracity.

There is one more contemporary document that must not be passed over. Cromwell kept in his pay certain scurrilous poets or rhymesters, whose business it was to write farces to be acted in the churches, and ballads to be sung in the ale-houses, in ridicule of whatever it pleased Henry and Cromwell to forbid, and of whomsoever it pleased them to defame. Foxe has preserved a long ballad, called the "Fantassie of Idolatry," in which, after scoffing at pilgrimages in general, the author thus alludes to the Rood of Boxley :

But now some may run, and when they have done  
 Their idols they shall not find ;  
 For the Rood of Grace hath lost his place

\*            \*            \*            \*            \*

He was made to juggle ; his eyes would giggle,  
 He would bend his brows and frown,  
 With his head he would nod, like a proper young god,  
 The shafts would go up and down.†

It should be noticed that the writer of this sprightly piece, though he insinuates trickery, makes no direct statement that these movements of the Rood had been either affirmed by the monks, or held by the people, to be miraculous. The ballad was intended for Londoners, and had to observe some moderation in statements of fact, though not in ridicule.

Foxe, however, who has preserved this piece for us, and who wrote in Elizabeth's reign, has no such reserve. He follows in the steps of the Zurich letter writers, and even improves on them :

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\* Zurich Letters, p. 609.

† Foxe's "Martyrs," v. 404 (ed. 1838). This ballad was composed at the time for Cromwell. Cromwell, as well as the Rood, "lost his place," and his head also, within two years of these sacrileges.

What posterity [he asks] will ever think the church of the pope, pretending such religion, to have been so wicked, so long to abuse the people's eyes with an old rotten stock called the Rood of Grace, *wherein a man should stand inclosed with an hundred wires within the Rood* to make the image goggle with the eyes, to nod with his head, to hang the lip, to move and shake his jaws according as the value was of the gift which was offered? If it were a small piece of silver, he would hang a frowning lip; if it were a piece of gold, then should his jaws go merrily. Thus miserably was the people of Christ seduced, their senses beguiled, and their purses spoiled, till this idolatrous forgery at last by Cromwell's means was disclosed, and the image with all his engines showed openly at Paul's Cross, and there torn in pieces by the people.\*

It will be remembered that, according to Lambard, the Rood was not gigantic, but carried, cross and figure, on a horse's back. According to Foxe it is large enough to hold a man concealed within, with spy holes to watch the nature of the offerings, so as to know which of his hundred wires he is to pull. Hoker, the Maidstone man, knew nothing of this hollow body; with him the mechanism was worked from outside. Finch heard from his German merchant, just come from London, that "a cord was ingeniously inserted at the back," and the idol's accomplishments were confined to rolling the eyes, opening the mouth, and giving a nod or shake of the head. But liars are not expected to agree.

The Rev. Canon Simpson, in his history of St. Paul's Cathedral, introduces the passage just given from Foxe, by the following words:

Foxe is seldom more in earnest than when he is denouncing some idolatrous superstition, and he has accordingly something to say about this Rood of Boxley. The details, if true, are sad enough, as the records of what are called "religious" frauds always must be.†

Yes! religious frauds are sad, and the frauds of lying historians, making false accusations of imposture and idolatry, are especially sad. But it may be questioned whether the "earnestness" of the old fanatical, out-and-out liars like Foxe, is more sad than the refurbishing of these wicked calumnies, with the qualifying clause, "if true;" words which allow all the mischief intended by the first inventors of these charges to be repeated, and yet provide a convenient retreat in case of refutation. If Dr. Simpson believed Foxe's story, why did he express this doubt? If he had reason to doubt the truth of Foxe's

\* Foxe, v. 397.

† "Chapters on the History of Old St. Paul's," by W. S. Simpson, D.D., F.S.A. (1881), p. 170.

details, was it not his duty as a historian either to clear up the matter, or to tell his reader, as Collier did, the reasons of his hesitation, or else to pass the whole matter by in silence? Does either truth or charity permit the dissemination of scandal, with an affectation of wounded piety, and "'tis very sad if true?"

The third principal witness against the monks is William Thomas. He was quoted by Lord Herbert, and the notorious falsehoods in his account of St. Thomas of Canterbury awoke in the mind of Collier a suspicion that his testimony might not be of great value regarding the Rood of Boxley. This man was a kind of political tutor of Edward VI., and was made by him clerk of the council, and though a layman had benefices conferred on him. At the accession of Queen Mary he was deprived of his office, and in revenge sought to murder the Queen, for which he was sent to the Tower, February 21, 1554. On the 26th, he attempted suicide, but failed. He was tried, and condemned on 9th May, and executed at Tyburn on the 18th.\*

He wrote at the beginning of Edward's reign a book called "*The Pilgrim*," or "*Il Pelerine Inglese*," in which he relates an imaginary conversation between himself and some Italian gentleman during his residence in Italy. This book has been reprinted by Mr. Froude, the panegyrist of Henry VIII., and he expresses a hope that Englishmen "will welcome an opportunity of seeing the conduct of Henry VIII., as it appeared to an Englishman of more than common ability, who himself witnessed the scenes which he describes."† We do welcome the book, and think the champion worthy of his hero.

Mr. Thomas does not mention the Rood of Boxley by name. What he says is this:

Now, quoth I, hearken well unto me in this mine answer against miracles, and you shall hear things of another sort. In time past England hath been occupied with more pilgrimages than Italy hath now. For as you have here Our Lady in so many places, di Loretto, di Gracia, &c., even so had we Our Lady of Walsingham of Penrice, of Islington. . . . And so many Holy Roods, that it was a wonder. And here and there ran all the world; yea, the king himself, till God opened his eyes, was as blind and obstinate as the rest. And those Roods and these Our Lady's were all of another sort than these your saints be; for there were few of them, but that with engines that were in them could beckon either with their heads or hands, or move their eyes, or manage some part of their bodies to the purpose that the friars and priests would use them, and especially

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\* Mr. Anthony Harmer (i.e., Henry Wharton) in his corrections of Burnet, n. 89.

† Preface to "*The Pilgrim*," p. viii.

one Christ Italianate, that with the head answered yea and nay to all demands.\*

There is a strange discrepancy between this and the preceding witnesses. With them the Rood of Boxley, the moving figure was quite singular.† With Thomas he has become Legion. All the Roods, *all* the Blessed Virgins had machinery alike. It was the peculiar prerogative of England. As England surpassed Italy in saint-worship, and shrine-baunting, so also in the marvels which moved so many devotees: "Those Roods and these Our Ladies were all of another sort than those your saints be, for there were few of them but could beckon," &c. The man dares not to accuse Italian monks of trickery, for the shrines and the roods were still standing in Italy; but he is at liberty to say what he likes of things destroyed and of men deprived and discredited. He betrays, however, the source of his absurd lies by the words "*especially* one Christ Italianate, that with the head answered yea and nay to all demands," which words immediately following the assertion that nearly all the images could beckon, or move their eyes, remind one of the saying about two negroes: "Cesar and Pompey are very much alike, *especially* Pompey." But why especially this one Christ Italianate? No doubt he was referring to the Rood of Boxley; why called Italianate I do not know.‡ This Rood had become famous from having been brought to London and solemnly destroyed. If there had been many like it, it would not have gained such notoriety. If very many of the Roods and Our Ladies and other images were worked by crafty engines, "to the purpose that the friars and priests would use them," what was there in the Rood of Boxley to excite such special horror and astonishment? But it is idle to waste one's time in refuting such accusations. The fabrication is so clumsy that it falls to pieces at a touch. All the monks are adepts in making machinery! And all the people are unsuspecting of the fact, till an accident or the Bible-taught intelligence of Partridge reveals it!

"And here and there ran all the world," says Thomas, "yea, the king himself, till God opened his eyes, was as

\* "The Pilgrim," p. 37.

† Partridge indeed, above quoted, does say that the "satellite saints of the Kentish image," *i.e.*, the other images destroyed at St. Paul's, "acted pretty much in the same way." But his words are an evident flourish, and he was writing in Germany and for Germans.

‡ Has Mr. Froude printed the word aright? There is an error a few lines above where it is said "St. John of Salston that conjured the devil into a book." It should be *boot*. In any case Italianate cannot mean "contrived like Italian crucifixes," since he says the Italians had no such roods as the English.

blind and obstinate as the rest." No doubt he was. And when and how did God open his eyes? When they saw "Gospel light" in the eyes of Anne Boleyn, according to the poet Gray. Or to speak more precisely, it was when they saw the last hope quenched of obtaining from the Pope a sentence of divorce. His book of expenses bears witness that in 1529 "the king's perpetual candle was still burning before Our Lady of Walsingham at the cost of £2 3s. 4d., and in 1530 before King Henry of Windsor (Henry VI.) at the cost of £1.\* Even in May, 1532, he thinks it right to send his offering of 7s. 6d. to Walsingham, and in November 1532, he offers personally 11s. 3d. at the shrine of Our Lady of Boulogne, and 5s. to "Our Lady in the Wall" at Calais, and on his return from France 4s. 8d. to "Our Lady in the Rock" at Dover. Sir Harris Nicolas, who has edited the Privy Purse Expenses of Henry, on inspecting the gifts made by the king to his various favourites, exclaims that "the mind is impressed with horror at the reflection of how few of them escaped falling victims to his suspicion, jealousy and revenge;"† and Our Lady and the saints were no exception to this rule.

"And can you blame the king," continues Mr. Froude's "Englishman of more than common ability," "though he hanged and burned those hypocritical knaves that were authors and actors of so much abomination and superstition?" This was well said by Mr. Thomas, and we must not pass it by too lightly. It was notorious in Italy that monks had been hung and burnt by Henry. The story of the hanging and quartering of the monks and friars who were associated with the visions and revelations of the Holy Maid of Kent, of the Carthusians and others who denied the king's supremacy, of the hanging and burning of Friar Forest, the confessor of the queen, and of so many more, had quickly spread through Europe and excited among Catholics universal horror. William Thomas therefore tells the Italian gentleman that these supposed martyrs were in reality hypocritical knaves, convicted of sacrilegious fraud. This is a bare-faced but most instructive lie.

Had any monks been proved guilty of such frauds, there is no doubt they would have been hung or burnt, or probably both hung and burnt according to the ingenious device employed in the cruel murder of Forest, who was hung by a chain over a fire which was fed with the fragments of a statue brought from Wales. In his case the intention was to ridicule a popular saying that the image would one day "set a forest on fire." Now had the Boxley monks really been guilty of cheating kings,

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\* "Letters and Papers," v. 303-336.

† Introduction, p. xxxi.

nobles and people, during long years, out of their money by gross and impious fraud, who can doubt that the Rood of Grace would have fed the flame which would have consumed them also? Would the tyrant who in 1534 sacrificed the lives of so many priests and monks on a charge of promulgating false visions, and who, in 1539, hung the mitred Abbot Richard Whiting of Glastonbury, and two of his monks, on a charge of having concealed some of the jewellery which the king claimed, would he or his minister Cromwell have spared the monks of Boxley in 1538?

But how stand the facts? Not one monk, either of Boxley or of any other abbey, was either executed, or convicted, or legally accused of fraud or trickery. Surely this one fact is enough to settle the whole question. But the argument is not merely negative. The Abbot of Boxley, John Cobbe, received a pension of £50 a year (or £500 in modern value), and each of his nine monks a pension varying between four pounds and four marks.\*

Such was the generous treatment of men who, according to the Rev. M. Soames, were guilty of "Scandalous imposture and infamous frauds."† Perhaps it is needless after this to say that none of the impostors mentioned by John Finch, who were bribed by the monks to feign illness, and then to be miraculously cured before the Rood, was ever brought to justice. We have no record that they received pensions: but perhaps the modern admirers of Henry and Cromwell will think it was due to their great clemency that such miscreants were left unmolested. Serious students of history will, however, conclude that if Cromwell thought it expedient to defame the monks, he did

\* The pensions are recorded by Willis, in his "Mitred Abbeyes," ii. p. 96, by the editors of Dugdale, v. 460, and by Halsted in his "History of Kent." None of these authors repeats the charge of the false miracles, though Halsted in a note refers to Lambard. The names are given incorrectly. I give them from the original.

† In Record Office, Augmentation Office—Miscellaneous Books, No. 232. Enrolment of Pensions.

Pars. ii. Grants anno 29 <sup>o</sup> .	
F. 5. <i>Boxley.</i>	Feb. 12. a <sup>o</sup> —29 <sup>o</sup> .
John Cobbes, Abb.	£50 0 0
John Graver	4 marcs.
Will Larkin	4 0 0
George Squyer	4 0 0
John Rede	4 marcs.
George Bonham	4 0 0
Amphiabel Mancorne	4 marcs.
Alexander Wymoneshunt	4 0 0
John Godfrey	4 marcs.
John Parker (Pakks)	4 marcs.

Some of the pensions were still paid in 1553.

† "History of the Reformation," ii. 264.

not find it convenient to have the charge too closely investigated. Let us return once more to the narration of William Thomas. We have seen how the murder of holy and innocent men was explained as just vengeance on hypocritical rogues. Of course therefore the suppression and plunder of the monasteries must also have its virtuous aspect.

And did not the king [asks his champion] do as good service unto God in destroying the places of these imaginary saints, that drew the people unto the belief and trust in these false miracles, as the good Hezekiah, King of Judah, did in destroying the mosaical brazen serpent, and overthrowing the excelsa, the images and hallowed woods consecrated to their idols? \*

Unfortunately for the justice of this comparison, neither the Books of Kings nor those of Chronicles relate that Ezechias established any Court of Augmentation to receive the proceeds of the high places and sacred groves. Much is told of the generosity of the holy king in restoring the splendour of the service of God; but of king and courtiers enriched by confiscations, nothing. A fitter comparison would have been with Solomon falling under the influence of his idolatrous wives. "And the women turned away his heart, and when he was now old his heart was turned away by women to follow strange gods . . . and he worshipped Astarte, the goddess of the Sidonians, and Moloch, the idol of the Ammonites."† It was when Henry had given up his heart to voluptuousness, that he destroyed the images of the Immaculate Virgin, whom he had once honoured. When rage and ferocity had changed his once genial character, he destroyed the Roods of Our Divine Redeemer.

A difficulty still remains. If there had been no imposture, how could Cromwell and Hilsey persuade the people that there had been such; how could the Londoners and Maidstonians be aroused to such violent indignation? I reply that in the first place there is no evidence that public opinion was thus aroused. Chambers's report to Cromwell is not trustworthy. He was justifying his own conduct, and that of his employer, by claiming the sympathy of the people. Hoker says that when the Rood was shown at Maidstone, some laughed, but "other were as mad as Ajax." Yes, buffoonery, especially with sacred things, will always secure laughter in a ribald mob. But the better classes, the devout, the former pilgrims to Boxley, all who knew the true history of the Rood, were "mad" with anger, not against the monks, but against the exhibitors, for it is evidently Hoker's meaning that the "Papists" were mad with vexation, which

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\* "The Pilgrims," p. 40.

† 3 Kings xi. 4, 5.



simply means that they were indignant against the calumniators of the monks, the sacrilegious impostors, who, after driving the monks away, now insulted them by barefaced lies. On the strength of Hoker's description, and without one particle of additional evidence, a writer in Knight's "London" says:

*People came from the most distant parts of the country, to gaze and wonder at a discovery, which no doubt astonished many of them almost as much as if it had been found out that any one of themselves was merely a similar piece of mechanism. The evidence, however, was too conclusive to be resisted by any possible stupidity.\**

So writes Mr. G. L. Craik, a name not unknown in literature; and yet all this is the merest nineteenth-century fiction.

But, after all, supposing that the charge against the monks was believed at once, as it certainly was by the Protestants in the course of a few years, the credulity which accepted the false charge can be more easily explained, in accordance with the laws of human nature, than the credulity or gullibility so freely imputed to the Catholics throughout England previous to the suppression of the abbeys. It is a choice of difficulties. Either Catholics had been gulled or Protestants have been bamboozled (one must be pardoned the words, there are no others). Of course Protestants think it natural that Catholics were dupes; Catholics must be allowed to state and defend their own view. That the courtiers of Henry VIII. should have welcomed the exhibition of the Crucifix, as Hoker relates, and should not have cared to examine too closely into the charge of imposture against the monks, is in perfect harmony with all history and experience. There is no sillier fiction about the Middle Ages than to represent the rich and noble as grovelling at the feet of the clergy or the monks, either in admiration or in fear. The good were no doubt venerated by the good, but even saintly kings could make or relish a joke at the expense of the imperfect monks, as they could be indignant against the bad. The ordinary run of nobles and men-at-arms had little enough reverence for men of peace and of religion. So it has ever been. One of the "sons of the prophets" (the monks of the Old Testament) is sent to anoint Jehu, and finds him among the captains of the army. He calls him aside, anoints him and flees away. Jehu returns to the captains. They ask him "Why came this madman to thee?" Jehu replies: "You know the man and what he said." They answer: "It is false; but rather do thou tell us."† It must be admitted that their calling the prophet a madman, and making

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\* Knight's "London," vol. i. Art. "Paul's Cross."

† 2 Kings ix. 11.

up their minds that his words were false before they knew them, might almost make us think that the speakers were courtiers of Henry or Elizabeth rather than of Jehu. But this spirit is of all times and all countries. It was, however, intensified in 1538, when all needy men were gaping for the spoils of the monasteries.

It is even more easy to explain the conduct of the Protestantising mob then, than later, and at the present day. Why, a Protestant Scripture-reader, in 1851, as Cardinal Newman relates, believed that he saw a Catholic congregation in London worshipping a candlestick, with a bell concealed in the foot, which a priest was touching with his finger, undetected by all except by the more enlightened Scripture-reader. During the anarchy of the Commune in Paris, a few years since, some of the mob broke into a church, and finding a wax figure of a virgin martyr containing her relics, they showed it from a balcony to the people in the streets, and made them believe that they had found the body of a girl, recently murdered by the priests. Are not many in all ages easily persuaded that they are themselves wise and shrewd, and all others fools; they virtuous, and all others villains? And was it a difficult matter to convince some of the Londoners that the men of Kent were simpletons? Have we not in Lambard, the perambulator of Kent, a good specimen of one who thought the Catholic people "silly sheep," the monks "false Romish foxes," himself, no doubt, an intelligent and trusty sheep-dog, who yet shows himself an ass by his braying? Protestant literature, from the time of the Reformation to the present day, is filled with this assumption of the ignorance, folly, and superstition or knavery of Catholics, and the enlightenment and honesty of whatever is sectarian.

Cheating and eating—what else did the monks live for? Unless, perhaps, they varied the amusement of talking out of hollow statues and working miracles through cunningly contrived roods, by walling up living nuns? Has not Sir Walter Scott told the history in *Marmion*? If an accomplished poet and antiquarian could be so deluded by Protestant traditions as to write such folly, what wonder if the atrocities of *Maria Monk* are circulated everywhere, and credited by millions?

The passage quoted from William Thomas proves that the spirit of lying and calumniating the injured monks had taken possession of a great part of the nation in a very short time after the suppression. Every possessor of their lands, and every pilferer of their churches' ornaments, would be eager to quiet his conscience, or defend his conduct, by giving credence to the slanders. And credulous historians have repeated them, and still repeat them to credulous readers. Thomas Cromwell has

indeed had a triumph. He has set up a gigantic fraud, a "lying wonder," and set the wheels and wires working; and Protestant England, for three centuries and a-half, has been grinning and holding up its hands in pious horror before this puppet of his creation.

It may be retorted that the first Protestants, who had known Catholics, nay, who had themselves been Catholics, were thoroughly convinced both of priestly knavery and lay credulity. In reply I would challenge the production of one single testimony of a Protestant of those early days, declaring that *he himself* had once believed in moving images and had afterwards discovered the imposture. Plenty of them thanked God that having once believed in the Real Presence, or the Sacrifice of the Mass, their eyes had been at length opened to see the truth, and their hearts to bewail their former blindness. But in such a case the testimony is to a change of inward conviction as to a matter of faith. But where is one who says "I was myself juggled by priests?" It is ever their lament that their neighbours were abused, that the "poor simple souls," or "the ignorant people" were deluded. In the passage I have quoted from Wriothesley, Barlow's sermon against images and feigned ceremonies is said to have been "to the great comfort of the audience," in other words to the gratification of Pharisees who thanked God they were not ignorant, blinded papists; not "to the shame and confusion of the audience" convicted of having been themselves fools and idiots. Mr. Froude writes: "The virtues (of the famous roods and images) had begun to grow uncertain to sceptical Protestants, and from doubt to denial, from denial to passionate hatred, there were but a few steps." With this I cordially agree; but I would add that from passionate hatred to the belief of calumnies, and even the invention of lies, is an easy advance. And it is this progression which explains the origin and the growth of the fable about Boxley.

A few months before Barlow's sermon, Gardiner, who, whatever were his faults, was a shrewd observer, wrote as follows:

To a multitude persuaded in the destruction of images I would never preach. For (as Scripture willesh us) we should cast no precious stones before hogs. . . . It is a terrible matter to think that this false opinion conceived against images should trouble any man's head; and such as I have known vexed with that devil (as I have known some) be nevertheless wonderfully obstinate in . . . and slander whatever is said to them for their relief.\*

It is right now that in conclusion we should listen to some positive evidence in favour of the monks of Boxley. Surely

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\* Gardiner to Captain Vaughan, May 1547.

Archbishop Warham cannot be objected to as biased or ill-informed. He ruled the diocese of Canterbury for thirty years. In 1511 he made a personal visitation of all the monasteries. He was the intimate friend and patron of Erasmus, and knew all that Erasmus had written on the subject of pilgrimages and the monastic life. According to Erasmus he had every episcopal virtue. He was not a man to countenance fraud. In that visitation he neither discovered nor suspected imposture or superstition. Again, in 1524, he was commissioned by the King to collect the subsidy granted by Convocation. He finds that the abbot of Boxley has mismanaged his revenues and got his house into debt, and cannot pay the tax though he offers security. Warham writes to Wolsey on the 3rd of May 1524, to advise patience and forbearance. As the place is much sought from all parts of the realm, visiting the Rood of Grace, he would be sorry to put it under an interdict. The abbot is inclined to live precisely (*i.e.*, economically) and bring the place out of debt, "or else it were pity he should live much longer, to the hurt of so holy a place, where so many miracles be showed."\*

Let men think as they please as to the reality of the miracles ; certainly none but a fool will suppose that, by miracles, Warham means the movement of the eyes or head of the Crucifix. By miracles, he means the graces obtained by prayer before it.

Let those who will, believe otherwise. Let them class Warham also among the dupes of a bit of wooden mechanism, if they are ashamed to place him among the abbots and others "in high station," who, according to Dr. Hook, laughed and connived at the frauds practised by their inferiors.† And then let them have the satisfaction of reflecting how God hid these things from the pious and cultivated Warham ; from the learned and saintly Fisher, who, from Rochester, must often have gone to pray before the famous Rood ; and even from the penetration of Colet and Erasmus ; while He revealed them to the arch-knave Thomas Cromwell, the perjured Archbishop Cranmer, the time-serving Hilsey, the debauched and bloodthirsty Henry, and the murderer William Thomas. And while they rejoice over the enlightenment and spiritual insight of the men who destroyed our abbeys, stripped our cathedrals naked, let them sigh or make merry over the thought that the builders of them were given up, generation after generation, to gross and besotted idolatry.

Nothing is more common than the use of the word "lie" by

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\* "Letters and Papers," iv. p. 127.

† Dr. Hook speaks too highly both of Warham and Fisher to have been willing to connect them with the supposed knavery at Boxley. However, they must have been either knaves or dupes, for they were both neighbours of the monks, and Warham was their diocesan.

authors treating of revolt against the Catholic Church. "That a Lie cannot be believed, philosophism knows only this," writes Carlyle of the French Revolution ;\* and this Lie, with a capital letter, is of course the Catholic doctrine. And Mr. Froude, following his master's lead, writes of the first Protestants in England, that they were "men and women to whom the masses, the pilgrimages, the indulgences, the pardons, the effete paraphernalia of the establishment, had become intolerable ; who had risen up in blind resistance, and had declared with passionate anger that, whatever was the truth, all this was falsehood."† He calls them "a little band of enthusiasts, armed only with truth and fearlessness ;" ‡ who, having at last read for themselves the Gospel history, "believed in Christ, not in the bowing Rood," so that "thenceforward neither form nor ceremony should stand between them and their God."§ All this sounds no doubt very brave and very noble. But what if "the bowing Rood," so skilfully thrown in here for the confusion of the ancient Church, is after all a Lie, a Lie deserving of very conspicuous capitals, but a lie first invented cunningly and knowingly by those first Protestants, and since then manipulated and multiplied, and propagated by their successors during three centuries and a half, not indeed with the same full consciousness, yet with blindness and recklessness and eagerness, which is in ill harmony with such grand profession of devotion to the truth !

We trust that this lie will soon go the way of other calumnies. And that we may show that we have no animosity to Dean Hook, we will draw the moral of the whole story by employing his own words on an analogous charge—words that do him credit :

Among the falsehoods freely circulated [he says] were those which related to the existence of underground passages leading from priories to nunneries, for the clandestine convenience of those who hated the light because their deeds were evil. But this application of the sewers, which are found upon examination to have gone no further than the exigencies of draining required, is now known to have originated in men who, whatever may have been their zeal against Popery, had forgotten that among deadly sins, falsehood is one, and that among Christian virtues, the charity that thinketh no evil is the first.||

The sewers, it seems, have been dug up, and the discovery of the cesspools has checked the further wanderings of the Protestant imagination in that direction. It is to be hoped that some day it will escape from the monastic dungeons and hollow statues in which it has been so long imprisoned.

T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R.

\* Part i. Book i. ch. 2.

† "History," ii. ch. vi. p. 26.

‡ *Ib.* p. 33.

§ *Ib.* p. 36.

|| *Ib.* p. 116.

## ART. II.—THE JEWS IN FRANCE.

IN the first portion of this paper \* I have endeavoured to show from the Talmud and other Jewish publications, that the aim and object of the Jews has been and still is the conquest of the world, the breaking up and destruction of Christian society, and the building up on its ruins of a universal Jewish empire. The instruments made use of for carrying out this ambitious plan, as we explained, are as varied as they are numerous and powerful. The "Alliance Israélite Universelle," with its ramifications over the whole earth, and their supremacy in the councils of Freemasonry, make the Jews masters of all the Cabinets of Europe. They have founded Socialism as well as Freemasonry, and they hold Internationalism, Communism, and Socialism at their beck. The immense capital accumulated in their hands, by means of devices of which they seem to possess the monopoly,—the Press, the Stock Exchange, and the telegraph agencies, which their gold controls, invest them with a most formidable power, a power of such magnitude that Beaconsfield, who was proud to be of them, could truly say of it, "You see, my dear Coningsby, the world is governed by a different set of men from what they fancy who are not behind the scenes." The silent growth and progress of that power in France we have tried to trace, up to the dawn of what is called the Third Republic. It now only remains for me to show the full development and realization of their plans in the government of unhappy France. In the first years which followed the fall of Napoleon III., the Jews, although very powerful, since at the very beginning of the Republic they held no less than five seats in the Cabinet, had to reckon with the strong Conservative element which predominated at the time; they consequently acted cautiously and prudently, as they always do till they are completely masters.† They had not yet reached that degree of audacity which they subsequently displayed, when we find them running riot against every form of liberty, strangling freedom of conscience and trampling it under their feet, degrading the magistracy and corrupting justice, poisoning

\* See DUBLIN REVIEW, October 1887. M. Drumont's "La France Juive," it should be remembered, is the work on which the following pages are mainly founded.

† It is remarkable that even to this day the Jews seem to fear to let the public know the strength of their population. Although they are over 600,000 in France, their official organs give only 40,000, some 120,000. In the last census made since they govern France no mention was made of any religious denomination.



the minds of the young and of the people by the most pernicious doctrines, sapping the very foundations of society by godless education ; degrading, killing, and suppressing the clergy ; persecuting and insulting the poor, the helpless, and the weak ; and thus paying back by every species of outrage the hospitality which France had generously given, and their emancipation which France had been the first to proclaim.

After the fiery ordeal through which she had passed, France was willing to be saved, had there been but a strong friendly hand extended to her. But thanks to the weakness of Marshal MacMahon, who is more fit to lead a charge of cavalry than to rule an empire, who may be a brave, dashing soldier, but is not a statesman ; thanks to the selfish hesitation of the Comte de Chambord, who preferred the ease and security of a private life to the splendour and dangerous honours of a throne, the Conservatives threw away their chance of preserving France from the horrors and depths of degradation to which her present rulers have brought her. The story of the negotiations between the Comte de Chambord and the Chamber of Bordeaux, and afterwards of Versailles, seems to justify Drumont's very emphatic language on this subject. The sceptre which the Comte de Chambord would not take up was seized by the Jew, Gambetta. Such are the habits of servitude in France ; the necessity of some authority is so innate to the French character, that they easily accept as their master any one who has brass and impudence enough to put himself forward, especially if he succeeds in getting a few score of confederates who will applaud anything he does and says, and if he is puffed up and patronized by the Press. This was exactly the case with Gambetta, and the secret of his temporary success. Whenever the Emperor Nero appeared in public he was followed by a troop of young men, called *Angustini*, who, in consideration of a yearly stipend of 25,000 *sestertii*, applauded everything the Emperor said and did ; so Gambetta had his band of young and old Jews, who followed him everywhere, to organize popular ovations, raise the wind, work up public opinion in favour of their paymaster, and applaud his speeches. The Jewish newspapers vied with one another in echoing the praises of the Dictator, and the whole world had to believe in the transcendental merits and the mission of that heaven-sent Liberator. In vain were some independent voices raised in protest against this imposition ; in vain did George Sand write against the "*Harlequin Dictator*," and endeavour to show him in his true colours. The din of applause of the "*claqueurs*" drowned every other sound for the moment. In the Jewish Sanhedrim that gathered around the Dictator as his friends, councillors, his boon companions, the sharers in his debaucheries,



his partners in the spoils and plunder of poor, bleeding France, we find such men as Challemel Lacour, Lockroy, Ranc, Lévy Crémieu, Reinach, Schnerb, Porgés, Camille Sée, Germain Sée, Léon Say, Spuller, Picard, Paul Bert, Jules Ferry, Charles Ferry, and a host of others who have been, or are now, filling every post of importance in France, in the Cabinet, the Privy Council, the Bench, the Prefectures, &c., and who all enjoy reputations more or less damaged.

Here is the pedigree and family history of one of them, Challemel Lacour, one of the lights of the French Republic and of course, a Jew : his grandfather died in penal servitude at Brest, an uncle of his was sentenced for murder under Louis Philippe, his father was sentenced for fraudulent bankruptcy and put under police surveillance ; the son was, in 1879, found guilty of swindling in some financial transaction and condemned to a fine of £4,000, which he has not yet paid. Any sensible man, with any regard for the safety of his own skin, or his spoons, would decline taking a footman with such a character and family history. Yet this man became the Ambassador of the French Republic to the Court of St. James, and the honour and highest interests of a once great nation were left in his keeping.

Lockroy, the late Minister of Commerce, the Deputy for the Seine, and the sworn enemy of the Christian Brothers, is a cross between a Jew and a Jacobin. He is the son of an Italian Jew, Simon, who for a long time worked with a troop of comedians under the name of Lockroy. His mother was the daughter of Jullien, the infamous Terrorist, who boasted that his conscience compelled him to vote for the death of Louis XVI. in the name of humanity, and who said that "if milk is the food of old men, blood is the food of the children of Liberty, who lie on a bed of corpses." He was called the bloodhound of Robespierre. What could be expected from such ancestry ? Lockroy, the late Minister of Commerce, plied many trades in his life. At first he was a penny-a-liner on some gutter paper, then he became an actor in the Théâtre Déjazet, then a conspirator, and remained always a Jew. Under the Commune he got himself out of the way in good time. He managed to creep into the family of Victor Hugo by marrying the poet's daughter, who had been left a widow with two children. His chief claim on the protection of the Freemasons rests on the fact that he kept guard around the sick bed of the dying poet, to prevent him from seeing a priest before his death. He intercepted the noble letter, so full of the charity of the Gospel, which the old Cardinal Guibert wrote to Victor Hugo, and it seems an established fact that he disregarded the dying wishes of Victor Hugo, who asked to see a priest. Since then he has become a Republican hero, and a Minister of Commerce. There can be no

doubt but that he must have collected a vast experience for his present position during the many stages through which he passed before he reached the Cabinet.

It is a most remarkable feature in this French Republic that the most aggressive of its Ministers are either Jews or connections of Jews. The two Ferrys married into Jewish families. Paul Bert's secretary, Quilly, the apostate, who drew on his small store of theology to supply his master with quotations from divinity books to insult the Church, lives with a German Jewess, Salome Brandt, with whom he went through a marriage ceremony before the Rabbi. The notorious Wilson, poor old Grévy's son-in-law, was surrounded by Jews. Dreyfus was his agent and partner in the Guano business, and other shady transactions.

As soon as Gambetta got into power the Synagogue required of him three things: first, jobs; secondly, another big war; and thirdly, religious persecution. Of jobs there was a plentiful supply. There was no lack of plunder for the brethren; they divided among themselves the spoils of Egypt. The railway purchase by the State, the Société Financière de Tunis, the Société Anamite of Tonkin, afforded large profits to the Ferrys, the Triards, the Chemlas and other Hebrews; whilst the honour of France—what remained of it at least—and the blood of her sons were sacrificed to make a Jewish holiday.

Gambetta did all that man can do to bring about another big war with Germany. The cry of the "Revanche," the Ligue Patriotique, wanton insults upon the German flag—everything failed him. If France was not burdened with another ruinous war indemnity, if she was not obliterated from the map of Europe, it was not the fault of Gambetta, who was most eager to supply the Jewish bankers and smaller Hebrew traffickers with new chances for plunder and robberies of all sorts; but it seemed as if nothing could disturb the Saxon composure of Bismarck or move him from the contempt he felt for the Hebrew mountebank. One of the most amusing incidents of the comedy played by Gambetta, which was intended to lead to "a most bloody tragedy," is the affair of the German Gymnastic Club of the Rue Saint Marc, in which, be it observed, all the actors were Jews. The president of the club is one Dr. Mayer, a Jew; the secretary is Eugène Wolff, another Jew. They had resolved to give a farewell dinner to another Jew—a Mr. A. Cohen. One of the circulars inviting the members of the club to the festive gathering was by mistake (?) directed to another Jew, a Mayer too. He was a member of Deroulède's Ligue Patriotique, and, priding himself on being a Frenchman (!), thought the meeting was meant as an insult to France. He goes there to disturb the festivities of his Hebrew German brethren, quarrels with the

President, and tears down the German flag. Another Jew, C. Laurent, a journalist, makes terrible noise about the whole affair in the paper of Weil Picard, another Jew, and magnifies it into a national affair—a great anti-German demonstration, “which cannot but end in a European war!”—but the whole thing ended in smoke, owing to the German common sense of the Iron Chancellor.

There seems to have been a momentary division in the councils of the Synagogue on the question of “ways and means” as to the religious persecution. The moderates, led by the philosophic Jules Simon, were of opinion that they should proceed quietly about the consummation of their wishes, and they would be all the surer of success. Gambetta and his party were for aggressive measures, for a policy of open war. The opportunity for satisfying their long inveterate hatred for God and His Church seemed too good to be neglected; the Press had prepared public opinion for drastic measures in that direction; success seemed certain, and the violent party, led by Gambetta, prevailed. The battle was begun by Gambetta’s war whoop, “*Le Clericalisme, voilà l’ennemi!*” It was the watchword given by the Synagogue and the Lodges. The cry was eagerly caught up by the whole Jewish Press, and re-echoed from one end of the land to the other. Thereupon the most relentless war was declared by these alien Hebrews, in the name of Liberty, upon Frenchmen and Frenchwomen who claimed but the right to live in the faith of their fathers. To those who forget the aim and object of the Jews, it may seem perplexing to find the reason why they should be so eager in persecuting others, when they, so often appeal to the tolerance of mankind. Love of money and hatred of the Church seem instinctive to the Jew. Much as he loves money, he hates the Christian still more, and the Christian for him means the Catholic. As a preparation for their religious persecution they began to forge fitting tools for the execution of their designs.

During the Middle Ages the Jews were not unfrequently accused of poisoning the wells from which the Christian community drew their water. With how much of truth the charges were brought against them we will not now inquire; but one thing is certain, that they have done their best ever since they have been in power to poison the wells of justice. The most odious and galling form of persecution and tyranny is the denial of justice. Camille Desmoulins said long ago, “The clumsy despot uses the bayonet, but the real artistic method of tyranny is to use the judges and the law courts.” When they entered upon their present course of persecution, the Jews took care to provide themselves, in the judges and the magistrates of the land, with fitting and willing

tools of their tyranny. The old judges had been appointed for life; they were men of established reputations for integrity; the ermine they wore was but the fitting emblem of their stainless character and determination to maintain it. There was but little hope that such men would truckle to the dictation of any one, and tamper with the rights of law-abiding citizens. A Bill was consequently introduced, and surreptitiously carried, by the Jews, Naguet and Millaud, which allowed the Government to remove from the bench any judge or magistrate who could not be reckoned upon for doing the bidding of the Lodges. The impracticable judges were replaced by men of the right sort, and the French Bench, made illustrious by the D'Aguesseaus, Michel l'Hospital, Séguier, is now occupied by Hebrews and foreigners, or others more worthless, such as Beyne, Bloch, Rosenfeld, Klatz, Anspach, Beer, Sommer, Lepère, Cazot, Constans, &c. Their record may not be quite unexceptionable; their hands may not be quite clean—what matters it? They are men to be relied upon to carry out the work set for them—no other qualification is required.

How can justice be unspotted and unsuspected when administered by men such as M. Martin-Sarzeaux, judge in the "tribunal de la Seine," who, whilst sitting on the bench, was running a "brasserie aux femmes" in the Rue Royale (Ligue, 10 Mai 1885), then became a bankrupt, and had to be transferred to Alexandria to take the part of France in what remains of the "Dual Control"?

Périvier, President of the Court of Appeal, whilst judging a most scandalous case, interrupted the prosecuting counsel by saying "Bah!—that's nothing! Who is without his little peccadilloes nowadays?"

M. Clerget-Allemand, President of the Court of Macon, is convicted of having levied blackmail, amounting to very considerable sums, on the most respectable inhabitants of the district in which he was dispensing justice.

Another judge, M. Beyne, had to be dismissed on most scandalous charges being proved against him.

Cazot, another judge, was found guilty of swindling.

Chancellor Leferrier, Vice-President of the Privy Council, breaks into the house of a cast-off mistress of his, in order to seize letters which, in an unguarded moment, he had written to her, and which he feared might be used against him. M. André, *alias* "De Trémontels," first Prefect of Rhodes, where he committed defalcations on a very large scale, was removed in the same capacity to Corsica, whence he had to be dismissed for some gross scandal. The Sub-Prefect of Château-Chinon, M. Desvoisins, M. du Refuge, Collector-General, and M. Paris,

Receveur des Domaines, were prosecuted for having one night, in a drunken freak, fired into a private chapel, broken windows, &c., for which they were fined 10*d*.

The following is by no means an exceptional case among the newly appointed judges, magistrates, inspectors of police, and other officers, who have to dispense justice and watch over the morals and safe-keeping of the nation:—One Broussier, commissaire de police \* at Guines, had been found guilty of sundry acts of robbery. As his doings had become too notorious, the Minister of Justice promoted him from Guines to the more important town of Vendôme, where he rifled the mail-bag of its contents. On the jury returning a verdict of guilty, he said to the judge, "No matter, I am still commissaire; the Minister promised to give me an appointment in the colonies when this case is over." M. Drumont gives the names of more than two score of such officials, selected among hundreds, who have been sentenced, before or after their appointment, for felonies, robberies, immoralities, and various other misdemeanours too numerous to be overlooked or palliated. What becomes in the hands of such judges of the golden maxim that "honour by honour is maintained—all that wounds delicacy is a crime," we leave our readers to conjecture. What justice and mercy innocence may expect at their hands the unfortunate Catholics learn every day to their cost.

In nothing has the imposture and the hypocrisy of this Jewish Masonic alliance been more glaringly exposed than in their protestations of Democracy, their vaunted love of liberty, fraternity, and equality, their declamations against tyranny and oppression, and their heralding of universal emancipation and tolerance. They will suffer no tyranny except their own. They proclaim liberty but for themselves alone—the liberty of oppressing their opponents. They talk with the most unbounded enthusiasm of holy liberty; their language, when they speak of it, assumes all the gorgeous brilliancy of Oriental imagery.

They hailed the advent of the Red Republic as the opening of a new golden age, in strains which quite bewildered the admiring Frenchmen. One of the proudest privileges of a free State, so they protested, was a free Press, untrammelled by any restrictive laws savouring of despotism. The Jew, Lisbonne, proposed and carried the repeal of the old laws in use against the Press under Napoleon III., so that they found themselves at liberty to assail everything and everybody, to slander and calumniate the innocent, to poison the minds of the young and

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\* The French commissaire de police occupies a position equivalent to a sub-inspector of constabulary.

the masses with the filthy productions of their gutter literature ; but when they find that the liberty they had so loudly called for, and so highly extolled, is made use of against them—when they see bold and courageous men like Drumont openly speak the truth about them, and reveal to the world their doings—they show suddenly great anxiety that liberty should not be turned into intolerable licence, and Bozerian, a Jew of course, comes forward to propose a law for gagging the Press much more stringent than those in force during the “tyranny of the Empire.” Such are these friends of liberty.

Under this new *régime*, ushered in in the name of Liberty, they are trampling under foot in the most ruthless and savage manner the most sacred of all liberties, the liberty of conscience. The Sisters of Charity, the Dominicans, the Benedictines, and the Christian Brothers—Frenchwomen and Frenchmen—during that terrible war of 1870 courted death in picking up the wounded on the battle-fields, attending the dying under the fire of musketry, or tending the sick in the pestilential atmosphere of the fever hospitals, deprived themselves of the necessities of life to supply the wants of our wounded soldiers—they are cast out of their own homes, driven into exile, and persecuted as the foes of their own country by these strangers whom the disasters of France have made millionaires whilst they were little better than beggars before the war which humbled France and left her destinies in the hands of miscreants.

The Republic is essentially the reign of equality, so its votaries would make us believe ; all privileges of caste are abolished ; the law makes no distinction between one citizen and another ; all have equal rights—in theory at least, but in practice it is far otherwise. There is one law for the Jew and the Freemason, and another for the Christian. The law, in fact, affords no protection to such as do not belong to the dominant faction. A poor woman complains to the “Commissaire” of the abduction of her child ; her story is a pitiable one. “I have children of my own,” says the “Commissaire,” “and I can understand your feelings ; we must do all we can to see justice done to you. Whom do you accuse of the deed ?” “Madame X——” (naming the wife of a Jewish banker). “Oh ! I pity you, but I fear nothing can be done. These people are too strong for you ; you might as well attack the Rothschilds !”

Every officer in the army guilty of being a practical Catholic is denounced by the Jewish press as a “clerical,” as if it was a crime to be a Christian in a Catholic country. The officer so denounced becomes at once suspect to his chiefs, and is thwarted in every way, whilst the War Minister grants every Jew in the army a full day’s leave of absence on each of the Jewish festivals,



so that he may attend to his religious observances undisturbed by any profane duties.

The pay a Catholic priest receives from the State is 922 francs per annum; that of a Jewish rabbi 2,522 francs. The Catholic has a claim to a compensation for the ecclesiastical property confiscated by the nation in 1789; the Jew has no such claim. Yet the rabbi receives nearly three times the allowance paid to the Catholic priest. This is equality and fraternity with a vengeance. It is well to observe that up to the time of Louis Philippe the Jews supported their own rabbis; but, being all-powerful with the King, Rothschild succeeded in getting them charged on the Budget; and the present rulers of France have improved upon Louis Philippe by making the rabbis the best salaried of the ministers of any religion in France, the Mahometan muftis being paid 1,600 francs and the Protestant ministers 2,111 francs.

The French Catholics are as completely ostracized as any conquered nation could be, whilst the Jews and Freemasons are above the law. The Freemasons may parade in the streets of Paris in the glory of their aprons, sashes, and other insignia; masquerading of any kind, however outrageous and offensive it may be to the feelings of the passers-by, is not only tolerated but encouraged, at carnival time; but the processions of Catholics, which the Sultan permits in the streets of Constantinople, are by law forbidden in all the large cities of Catholic France.

They break out into rhapsodies when they talk of the eternal rights of man, of the sovereignty of the people, of the sanctity of the people's cause, the people's faculty of self-devotion and power of self-sacrifice—and they oppose every working-man's candidate on the hustings. Only one real working-man, Brialou, has hitherto succeeded in being elected to the French Parliament, and he has been elected in spite of the combined manœuvring of the Jews and the Freemasons. They affect on principle to be the friends of the people; it is only in order to be able to use their influence on the masses for their own purposes, as the following curious declaration bluntly acknowledges:

Our interest requires that we should at least simulate zeal for the social questions of the day, those especially which claim to have for their object the amelioration of the lot of the working classes; but in reality our efforts must tend to get this movement of public opinion into our own hands, and to direct it upon public questions. The blindness of the masses, their tendency to be carried away by sonorous empty spouting with which our highways resound, make of them a convenient instrument for popularity. Our own will easily find the secret of fictitious enthusiasm for the people's cause, and it will give their words as much eloquence as the Christians find in their sincerity.



We must, as much as possible, keep up the proletariat, and subject it to those who have the handling of the money. By this means we may cause the masses to revolt whenever we wish, we shall drive them on to revolutions and rebellions; and each of these catastrophes advances our dearest interests, and brings us nearer to the realization of our only aim—that of reigning over all the earth, according to the promise made to our Father Abraham.\*

Their love of the people is neither very disinterested nor very genuine, as this speech but too clearly shows. All their protestations of philanthropy and democracy are nothing but cant and hypocrisy. They hate the poor; they show that hatred by their acts—they show it by oppressing the masses in every possible way for the benefit of their own ilk. They have repealed the laws against adulteration of food and drink; and Hebrew speculators, who own most of the shops frequented by the poorer classes, will henceforth be unmolested by any inconvenient police regulations. The Jews resent bitterly any interference with this newly acquired right. The Paris Laboratoire Municipal, which has, for many years, been under the superintendence of the eminent chemists, Girard and Dupré, has incurred the displeasure of the Jews—Lockroy, Ollendorf, Lyon-Allemand, Herz, and others—because these savants fearlessly publish the names of the wine-merchants whom, by their chemical analysis, they have found guilty of selling liquor that was adulterated. Several public meetings were held by these worthies in order to protest against the tendency of the directorate of this Laboratoire, as calculated to create dissensions amongst citizens.

The Third Republic has inaugurated an era of liberty—at least for Jews. The pawnbrokers are no longer subject to the restrictive laws which formerly protected the poor and distressed against Jewish harpies. Most incredible—war has been declared by the same democratic Republic upon the *chiffonniers* of Paris, the poor of the poor! The cheerless trade, which 40,000 of them plied every night in the streets of Paris, was suddenly cut short by an edict signed by one of the present Hebrew rulers of Catholic France. This zealous ædile decreed under a heavy fine that sweepings, &c., were no longer to be exposed in the streets, but should be put into boxes of a prescribed pattern, which were to be locked and left before each hall-door, to be carted away before dawn by the city contractors, and returned empty before nightfall. Along with this decree appeared an advertisement to the effect that Messrs Levy & Sons, Rue du 4 Septembre, were prepared to supply householders with the regulation boxes against ready cash! This gave the true solution to the riddle.

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\* "La Russie Juive." Kalixt de Wloswki, p. 18.

The 40,000 Frenchmen and women, mere Gentiles, were to be reduced to starvation in order to fill the cash-box of the circumcised Prussian Levys. The distress caused among the poor outcasts by this new law was such that many were driven to madness, others died of hunger. One would think their fate pitiable enough to move the sympathy of any man; neglect in this distress would have been cruelty enough. But mockery and insult were added to cruelty. Would it be believed? These Jews had the heartlessness and barbarity to make merry over the misery and despair of these wretched rag-pickers. A farce was written on the suppression of the *chiffonniers*—this saddest of all the sad and dismal incidents in the history of the so-called Democratic Republic—and the Jew Elissen had the audacity to have it played at the private theatricals given in his hotel, Boulevard Haussmann, under the name of “*Cremaillère-revue*.” The playbill, printed on pink satin, mentioned that “the farce was specially written for the occasion, first forbidden by the Public Censor, and now exhibited by special favour of the Municipal Council of Paris.”

The Jew Reinach, a native of Hamburg, at present a Radical member of the French Parliament, proposed a law whereby any man, woman, or child who should have been sentenced three times for begging or roving as tramps, sleeping in porches, archways, or on the seats of public promenades should be transported for life! Because these unfortunate creatures are poor, the children of parents too honest, perhaps, to enrich themselves by Jewish methods—because they have not a bed to sleep in, they are to be torn from their country, for which their fathers have bled and died. They are to be driven into exile at the bidding of a German Jew—lest their sight offend the fastidious friends of the people.

What can have been the object the wretch had in view, who, as the *Intransigeant* of the 12th of November 1884 tells us, moved in the Paris Municipal Council, “that no more food should be given from the Collège Chaptal to the Community of the Little Sisters of the Poor, of the Avenue Breteuil?” The good sisters had been in the habit of receiving from the Collège Chaptal, which is under the control of the Paris Municipal Council, broken meat and bread and other leavings, as they do from many hotels and public institutions in London; and this worthy Republican, Colonel Martin by name, asked that this anti-republican habit should be discontinued. Did he wish to punish by famine the poor old people for having been sheltered and cared for by the sisters when they found themselves friendless and deserted?

The misery of the people is a rich mine of gold for those who are cruel enough to work it.

These Jewish Masonic brethren and their satellites, with whom

they have filled every place of profit, do not even scruple to rob the poor. The administration of the "Bureaux de Bienfaisance," which supply in France the place of the English relieving officers, seems so utterly demoralized that in a short space of time as many as 198 officials out of a staff of 240 had to be dismissed in Paris for malpractices. Several of them, as *Le Figaro*, May 14, 1883, said, were in the habit of putting their own families on the relief list, and of paying for their household expenses with the money of the poor. One Cuiviller, a corn-merchant, used to pay his workmen's wages, even his tailor's bill, with relief tickets; he was at last found out, and sent to gaol to atone for his scandalous depredations. Such instances of Democratic pity and sympathy for the poor, of Republican fraternity and Masonic philanthropy, seem to be every-day occurrences. It is quite a relief to turn from these villanies to the beautiful description Drumont gives of the motherly care the Church took during the Middle Ages, when her rule was supreme, of the workmen and the poor, their women and children, and their food.

It is against the poor, and the poor alone, that the laws were directed which banished religion from schools and hospitals. The rich will always find the means of bringing up their children in Christian principles, and by Christian teachers, if they choose to do so; but the poor cannot; for them atheism is made compulsory by law. This is cruelty indeed. Unblessed with the good things of this world, the unfortunate, whose earthly lot is harder to bear and who would need more than others the comfort of a hope in a better world beyond the grave, are denied every religious teaching by their rulers. These rulers cannot but be aware that, by depriving the poor of his religion, by destroying his belief, which alone would enable him to bear with patience the burden of his miserable lot, and to behold without envy or revolt the luxury of the rich, they are preparing Socialism of the worst kind, and destroying every vestige of true patriotism. It is rather significant that this religious persecution is chiefly carried on by foreigners, who, by the help of Freemasonry, have established themselves in positions of power and influence, and who can have no interest in the welfare of France. The law against religious teachers was proposed by a Protestant parson, Steeg, of German origin, as his name but too clearly denotes. We are sorry to see Protestants vie with the Jews in intolerance and in zeal for the persecution of the Catholics and the poor.

To have hunted the Sister of Charity from the hospitals, where the poor loved so much to see her by their own bedside or that of their friends, was a piece of wanton cruelty. Reared up without God, living without God, the poor must also die without God. Such is the sweet will of their Jewish and Masonic rulers. And

what substitutes have they put in the place left vacant by the Sisters of Charity—of whom Maxime du Camp said the other day, wishing to sum up all virtues in one name, "I cannot find a more appropriate than that of the Sister of Charity?" Dereliction of duty and running away from contagious diseases, as the Freethinker, Dr. Desprèz, wrote the other day, are the smallest faults they can be charged with. Several of them have come straight from the prison St. Lazare—a fit place wherein to serve their apprenticeship as sick nurses to Christ's poor and comforters of the dying! Anything may be expected from such attendants. Drumont gives a few instances which are simply monstrous. Yet, if the poor suffered an irreparable loss by the banishing of the Sisters of Charity and other religious from the hospitals, the public purse does not seem to have gained much, if we may judge from the following statistics, which give a parallel account of the yearly consumption of alcohol, wine, sugar, and milk in the hospitals of Paris during the management of the Sisters and that of the lay nurses:—

Under the new *régime*, with lay nurses, 16,000 litres of brandy are required per annum against 4,000 formerly; 32,000 litres of rum against 5,000 formerly; 200,000 kilos of sugar against 144,000 formerly; 2,646,000 litres of wine against 1,893,000 formerly; 2,675,000 litres of milk against 2,130,000 used under the management of nuns. Under the new *régime* there seems to prevail a marked preference for strong drinks, either on the part of the patients or their "lay" nurses. Whether liberty of conscience gained more than the public exchequer in the change the Jews and the Freemasons have introduced seems equally doubtful. Many cases are reported where the dying patient's request to see a priest was rudely denied.

Seventy-six out of the eighty medical practitioners attending the Paris hospitals have protested against the iniquitous decrees which banish the Sisters from the hospitals; they declared that it would be impossible to replace at once the 600 nuns employed in the hospitals by competent nurses. All was in vain. The inmates of the Incurable Hospital of Ivry-sur-Seine, near Paris, have twice petitioned M. Grévy, the President of the Republic, to have the nuns sent back to them. "In losing the Sisters," these poor people say, "we have lost rest, order, cleanliness, comfort, care, and kindly attention, and the consideration due to people in our helpless condition; we have lost everything which could make life tolerable to us." It is needless to add that the poor patients petitioned in vain: much do their Republican Masonic rulers care whether life is tolerable or not to the suffering poor.

Meanwhile what are the Catholics, what are the nobility of France, the natural leaders of the people, the proudest and most ancient aristocracy in the world, what are they doing? They are amusing themselves, says M. Drumont, with bitter irony, and currying favour with the Jews! Their passion for amusing themselves has become a regular disease—their craving for pleasure must be indulged and satisfied, in and out of season. Whilst true Frenchmen were mourning over the disaster and disgrace of the defeat of Lang-Son, where the French flag had to be lowered before a horde of barbarians, there was quite a fever of festivities in the Faubourg St. Germain. The disaster was announced on Friday—here is the bill of the following week's amusements, as given in *Figaro*:—On the Tuesday following there was a ball at Madame la Duchesse de Maillé's; on Wednesday, balls at Madame de Chateaubourg's and Madame la Comtesse de Ferronay's; on Thursday, *matinée dansante* at Madame la Duchesse de Trévise's; Friday, fancy dress ball at M. Gaillard's. A few days after the failure of the Union Générale, which was brought about, as we have observed, by the ring of Jewish bankers, and in which disgrace was brought upon the highest and proudest names of the French nobility, the Rothschilds gave a ball on a magnificent scale, which Drumont calls the Ball of the Victims, in order to celebrate the triumph of Israel over old France; and—would it be believed?—the fathers, sisters, and brothers of the unfortunate people ruined by the failure thronged the drawing-rooms of the Hebrew Baroness whose husband had been the principal cause of this ruin, and who had pocketed millions through the transaction. The desecration of the Church of Ste. Geneviève—that gross outrage upon Catholic feeling—seemed to the Princesse de Sagan, a most pious and devout Catholic lady, a fitting occasion for an exhibition, the horror of which recalls the last days of a decaying world. Madame la Princesse invited all the Catholic aristocracy to celebrate the event in a “*bal des bêtes*,” at which these highborn dames and gentlemen disported themselves dancing in every grotesque and ignoble disguise imaginable, as cocks, ducks, bugs, bats, cats, rats, dogs, mice, bees, canary birds, foxes, tigers, elephants, giraffes, &c.; the whole animal kingdom was represented. Thus the Christian ladies commemorated the profanation of the church dedicated to the patroness of Paris. The Jews and Jewesses who were present were naturally highly amused at the degradation of the unfortunate aristocracy. Nero fiddling whilst Rome was burning was not half as mad as they.

The picture M. Drumont draws of Parisian high life is most dismal. The French aristocracy of the present day—those at least who reside in Paris—seem to him sadly fallen. They have

forgotten the best and noblest traditions, which formerly won for their order the respect and admiration of all Europe, and made it truly great in the eyes of all. They are, with a few, very few, exceptions, an effete degenerate race; they neither read nor think. Their frivolity, their love of ease and pleasure, their want of patriotism, their revolting mixture of worldliness and religion, the total absence in them of self-respect and consistency in their public life,\* rouse the ire of the Frenchman; but, above all, their abject servility, their flunkeyism to the Jews, or, as Drumont graphically calls it, their idolatrous worship of the Golden Calf, seems to him intolerable.

The chief temple in France where the worship of the Golden Calf is carried on is Ferrières, where Rothschild, the Jew of Kings and King of Jews, keeps his court. Ferrières seems to be at present the centre and heart of France, for rank and fashion, as much as Versailles was in the days of Louis XIV. Here the Duchess of Braganza, the daughter of the Comte de Paris—of the heir to the crown of France—made a short time ago her début in society? A presentation at Ferrières is as necessary an introduction to fashionable society and high life as presentation at Court. The descendants of the princes, the dukes and duchesses, the counts and countesses, who adorned the Court of the Grand Monarque, and made Versailles the most brilliant Court in Europe, deem it a great honour to be allowed to wait upon a Hebrew usurer, and his helpmate. Alas! things have much changed since the Duchesse d'Angoulême answered her "Fi donc!" in reply to the Prince of Metternich, who asked her whether she would be pleased to allow Madame Rothschild to be presented to her. Sixty years ago the ladies of the Faubourg St. Germain would as soon have renounced their baptism, or the fleur de lys, as consented to associate with a Jewess. What can be the cause of such a change? What particular attraction can Ferrières have for the French aristocracy? Everything the eye or the ear meets there is marked with the stamp of vulgarity. Gold and silver may buy a big mansion, large trees, extensive parks, liveried servants, and gilt carriages, but it cannot purchase high breeding, refinement, elegant tastes, polished manners, nor change a denizen of the Frankfort Judengasse into a cultured gentleman or an accomplished lady. What enjoyment, intellectual or social, can a Duc d'Aumale, a Duc de la Rochefoucauld, or a Clermont Tonnerre find in the company of a man

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\* The Duc de la Rochefoucauld Bisaccia in the Chamber called the 14th of July the Feast of Assassination—yet in the evening of the day he ordered the windows of the Jockey Club, of which he is president, to be illuminated, and attended the banquet and the ball of the Hotel de Ville given in celebration of the "Prise de la Bastille."



who can talk of nothing but stocks, cent. per cent., and perhaps horses, and this only in broken French? What community of feeling can there be between the descendants of the victor of Rocroy, the sons of the Crusaders, and these Jews, whose legitimate armoury is a multiplication table? Degradation, the lowering of tastes and manners, is but the necessary consequence of such fellowship.

Even more than the men, the women of Parisian aristocratic society seem to have been infected by this contact with vulgarity. Greed for money, love of pleasure, and the follies of fashion have absorbed the gentler virtues of their natures, and dried up in them the springs of compassion and sympathy with the toiling masses. They never look below them, they never think of the poor and the suffering, of the duties of charity. "They never expose themselves to feel what wretches feel," as King Lear says, "that they may shake their superflux to them." Their thoughts are all engrossed by the care for their toilette, the coming ball, the next opera. To make a sacrifice, to deny themselves a new dress for instance, or any other frivolity, in order to clothe the naked, or save one of their fellow-beings from starvation, would never enter into their mind. What a sad, striking contrast between the cold indifference and cruel selfishness of these high-born dames, and the generosity and open-handedness of the poor, misguided, but withal kind-hearted, Louise Michel, who, before starting for New Caledonia, gave her shoes and stockings to an old woman, and walked barefooted on deck the steamer which carried her off. The proceeds of her lectures in Belgium she divided among the poor families of the political prisoners and her own mother. These great ladies seem to have no sense of their dignity, of what is due to their rank; and show less self-respect than would be expected from a common trader's wife. The Jews may take any liberty they choose, and no one dares resent it. These high-born duchesses and countesses, who are so jealous of their rank and precedence, allow themselves to be crushed out of the way, as a matter of course, by the wives of Hebrew usurers. They have no more objection to see their religion insulted than their rank and dignity. At the visit which the Russian Arch-duchess Wladimir paid lately to the French capital, Madame Greffulhe, a Jewess, gave an entertainment in her honour, at which an abominable farce, "*Jocrisse vivra toujours*," was played by Jewish actors and actresses. In this farce the Sacrament of Confession is most scandalously parodied. The Grand-Duchess was shocked at this impropriety, and expressed her disgust aloud; the pious Catholic ladies, through courtesy and deference to their hostess, thought themselves bound to applaud! By a singular



coincidence this took place the day after the assassination at Chateauvillain.

When James Rothschild, the founder of the dynasty, died, there was such an extraordinary number of letters of condolence from every quarter sent to the family, that his heirs and successors, to honour the memory of their ancestor, resolved to have them printed and published, together with the newspaper articles and biographical notices which appeared on the occasion. A more extraordinary display of mean adulation, of servile flattery, it would be hard to find than this collection. It is sad enough to see the Press of a proud nation lowering itself to sing in such extravagant fashion the praise and virtues of a decrepit old man, whose only merit consisted in his having been a successful usurer; but it must be humiliating for a Frenchman to read among the collection a letter signed by François d'Orléans, Prince de Joinville, which for abject flunkeyism could hardly be surpassed by footman or gatekeeper. If these Jews grow insolent, do they not get fair encouragement? When Rothschild says to the Duc d'Aumale, "I share your ancestor's passion for sport and hunting," as if he was the collateral heir of the Condés, he is not more ridiculous than the prince, who suffers such liberty and insolence, is contemptible.

The aristocracy have certainly much to answer for. There seems, however, to be everywhere, in high and low places, a general helplessness hard to be accounted for. The following, related by Maxime du Camp, may perhaps elucidate the perplexing question how all these things are possible:

During the Commune thirty-seven gendarmes and Gardes de Paris—fine stalwart men, in the vigour of their manhood—were marched off to execution, under an escort of thirty-five *Fédérés*, &c., some of them mere boys, and more than one the worse for drink, whom they could easily have overpowered. A few women who saw them marching through the streets cried to them, "Defend yourselves then." But they marched on silently, keeping step as if they were on parade rather than marching to certain death. They allowed themselves to be put against a wall and shot down, without the faintest attempt at resistance.

Here we have it all. The same mental paralysis seems to have seized the men of to-day which made it possible in 1793 for 500 daring scoundrels to terrorize over the rest of France.

There are few articles of their programme about which the Jews and Freemasons are so anxious as the separation of religion from education in all its grades. The reason of it is given in the following extract from a speech delivered by a rabbi, quoted in the "*Russie Juive*":

Let us strive to gain influence over the minds of the young. The new ideas of progress imply the principle that all religions are equally true; this leads naturally to the suppression of all religious instruction from the curriculum of the schools and universities. By this means we shall obtain that religious instruction will be confined to the family circle, and, as in most families there is little time to pay attention to it, religion will by degrees disappear completely.

The very idea of God they would erase from the minds of the young. We find the Jews everywhere most zealous to "preserve" youth from such retrograde ideas. The Popes, whom the Jewish press constantly accuse of intolerance, always protected the liberty of the Jews to educate their children as they pleased. Clement XIII. published a special bull, forbidding any one to interfere with the right of the Jews in this respect. One of the first laws they tried to pass as soon as they came to power was to make infidel godless education compulsory. It is a Jew, Camille Sée, who drew up the constitution and regulations for the girls' colleges (*lycées des filles*), from which religion is by law banished.

"La Gerbe de l'Ecolier," that most singular compilation of extracts from the French classics for the use of schools, in which the name of God was most clumsily and most impiously erased wherever it turned up, was planned and executed by the Jew Giedroye: so we are informed by the "Archives Israélites." The effect of the heavy, stupid hand of this Hebrew tampering with the exquisitely beautiful language of French writers, such as Lafontaine, Racine, Voltaire, Hugo, can easily be imagined. A bull in a china-shop would be less awkward and obnoxious than this Jew trying to mend a Lafontaine. You might as well ask a bricklayer to improve the Apollo Belvidere, or a house-painter to correct the face of Raphael's "Vierge à la Chaise." Such lines as—

Petit poisson deviendra grand  
Pourvu que Dieu lui prête vie,

as Lafontaine wrote them, read as follows—

Petit poisson deviendra grand  
Pourvu qu'on lui laisse la vie—

when mended by this godless Hebrew cobbler. Yet this strange manual, in which the masterpieces of the French language are so shamefully and idiotically mutilated by this iconoclast, is made compulsory in the Government schools. How this deicide race hates God! Here we have, in the month of February 1885, another Jew, Camille Dreyfus, asking the Municipal Council of Paris to proscribe Victor Hugo's works from the schools of the

city, because the name of God, and even prayer—as if such a thing could be tolerated in a free republic—are mentioned in them. He quoted as especially obnoxious such lines as—

Donnez riches, l'aumône est sœur de la prière . . . .  
Donnez afin que Dieu, qui dote les familles . . . .

And the Municipal Council, shocked and horror-stricken, resolved that a searching inquiry should be held into a question of such paramount importance! Is it not singular that we find these Jews everywhere in this war of godless education? A Jew, Calman-Lévy, is the publisher, and Compayré and Benoit Lévy are the authors and compilers, of the abominable handbooks prescribed in the "*Ecoles Laïques*," where infidelity is professedly taught. A Jewish rabbi, Aristide Astruc, publishes a *brochure*, "*L'Enseignement chez les Anciens Juifs*," in which he endeavours to prove that the system of education at present in force in France is in every way identical with the system established by the ancient Hebrews! We trust this is the reason why King Humbert refused the other day to sanction the appointment of the Jew Lanza as Minister of Public Education. The Jews seem to revel in this persecution, carried on in the name of free thought and liberty of conscience. They do their utmost, through the press and the theatre, to spread immorality and infidelity, and that rabid hatred of religion and its ministers, which is unfortunately increasing every day, but which seems alien to the genuine feelings of the people.

To show how completely the present rulers of France have emancipated themselves from all regard for decency and honesty we quote, with many apologies to our readers, the following questions which were put by Government Inspectors to some nuns at the public oral examination which they had to undergo in order to obtain their diploma and licence to teach in schools:

"Define the word 'libertine.'"

"What is the difference between 'amant' and 'amoureux'?"

"Why are corsets not worn by men as well as by women?"

What civilized government would tolerate such nameless black-guardism? Yet, this is done in the open daylight, with the sanction and connivance of the powers that be, and in the name of liberty! Have these poor nuns no father, no brother living, who might do what this shameless Government refuses to do?

Leo Taxil acknowledges, in his "*Confessions of a Freethinker*," that it was at the suggestion of the Jews and the Freemasons that he undertook the vile blasphemous publications in which he defiled everything sacred and holy. The Jew Strauss is the publisher of his first book, "*A bas la Calotte*." Mayer, another Jew, is the propagandist of Leo Taxil's "*Livres Secrets des*

Confesseurs," in the "Bibliothèque anti-Cléricale." Another Jew, Benoit Lévy, defended him when he was prosecuted for his abominable attacks on the character of Pius IX., and other such filthy unspeakable publications.

The persecution against the nuns and priests has been loudly demanded by the Jewish Press. The most zealous priest-hunters have been the foreign Jews whom the patriotic Republicans have appointed prefects and sub-prefects in various parts of France. Herold, Schwab, Steiner, Dolfus, Lisbonne, Stéhélin, Isaïe Levallant, and Hendlé are the Hebrew heroes of this crusade. This latter Hendlé behaved in so outrageous a manner, and displayed such rabid animosity against the religion of the people, that he had to be shifted several times from one place to another to save him from public execration. At the time of the expulsion of the Orleans princes he was prefect of Rouen, where the regiment of the Duc de Chartres was stationed. Many people, besides M. Drumont, will think it a strange want of dignity in the Duchesse de Chartres that she should have thought it necessary to pay her respects (!) to the wife of this Austrian Jew before going into exile, to which she and her husband were being driven by Hendlé and his confederates.

The war against the Crucifix in school and hospital was waged with unexampled fury by the Jews Hendlé, Lisbonne, Levallant, Constans, Herold. It is quite natural that the decide race should hate the Crucifix; but it is a thing to be wondered at that they should be allowed to vent their hatred in so public a manner in a Catholic country.

The first who dared to expel the Sisters of Charity, whom even the savages respect, was a foreign Jew. Another Jew, Charles Laurent, undertook to break into the monastery of Solesmes and turn the learned Benedictines out of their own house, which several other officials had declined to do. The proposer and seconder of the law proscribing religious from France were two Jews, Reinach and Waldeck-Rousseau. These Jews respect nothing. The Jews, Mayer, and Lisbonne, and Lockroy, attack in the most filthy blasphemous language the devotion to our Lady of Lourdes; deride the pilgrimages and the miracles wrought at the shrine. The Jews Moise and Camille Dreyfus ask in the Chamber that the mention of God should be left out of the oath administered in law courts; and Oppenheim, a Jew of Frankfort, moves "that there should be a Pope of atheists appointed as well as a Pope of Catholics." The dead and the honour paid to them could not escape this all-invading sacrilegious fury of the Jews. Solomon, a Jew, established the Cremation Society, and proposed a law making cremation compulsory in France.

A Jew, Camille Dreyfus, has proposed in the Chamber of Deputies that the Concordat should be abolished, and the Budget of the Clergy suppressed.

This same Dreyfus thinks that his greatest recommendation to the electors of the Quartier du Gros Caillou, whose votes he was canvassing, was that he had been sentenced for gross insults and assault on an old priest.

The promoter of the "*Ligue anti-Cléricale*" is a Jew. Solomon Mayer, a Jew of course, proposed at last year's meeting of this league that they should hold their next general congress in Rome, opposite the Vatican.

The Jew Lockroy, the late Minister of Commerce, proposed the Bill putting an extra tax of five per cent. on the value of the property of all religious communities, not excluding, the "*Little Sisters of the Poor*."

The obscene prints and caricatures, the foul publications in which the clergy, the nuns, religion, its sacred rites, are derided and insulted, are published by the Jews Strauss, Benoit Lévy, and Mayer, in the Rue du Croissant. They are being sold in shops kept by Jews, and hawked about in the streets mostly by young Jews, under the eyes of the police, who are not allowed to interfere. The law against colportage has been abolished by the present Government, in order not to impede the free circulation of these nefarious publications. The chief of the police in Paris is a German Jew, one Schnerb, who keeps the police fairly muzzled. They are subject by him to the most stringent rules. Any member of the force guilty of too much zeal is sure of being dismissed. Everything seems tolerated, everything is allowed. There is unbounded freedom, even licence, for everybody except the Catholics. The present *régime* has been very properly described as the persecution of virtue and the protection of vice. Crime must increase and multiply in such congenial atmosphere: in 1872 there were 26,000 crimes reported by the police, and in 1886 81,000, nearly four times more than fourteen years before. Life is not safer in the most populous streets of Paris after nightfall, than in the wildest forest of the Apennines. The "*brasseries aux femmes*" have alarmingly multiplied—especially in the Quartier Latin. They were first introduced by German Jews, and, according to the statistics given by Macé,\* the head of the detective department in Paris, the Jews still have the monopoly of these disreputable establishments, 92 per cent. being kept by them, some being by Government officials. Vice may parade and display every indecency unchecked in the streets of Paris in broad daylight.

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\* Macé: *Service de Sureté*. Paris, 1886.

Meanwhile the Jews are treating France and everything in it, Frenchmen and Frenchwomen, with the insolence of conquerors, an insolence which is developing every day into new outrages. It seems to be an instinct of the Jew's nature to sully, to vilify, to turn into ridicule everything that is venerable, great, and noble in the eyes of civilized men.

The Jew Lisbonne, who played a prominent part during the Commune, as colonel of one of the most violent regiments of the *Fédérés*, took it into his head to run a café, in which the customers were to be waited upon by "women" dressed in the habit of nuns, but the thing did not take. The next plan he tried was to open an establishment in which the waiters wore the official dress of the members of the *Académie Française*, with the embroidered green palm and the sword. He also founded an establishment called "*L'Auberge des Reines*," in which the waitresses and barmaids wear the historical costume of the queens of whom history makes mention as having been remarkable for their misfortunes or their beauty. *Blanche de Castille*, *Louise de Savoie*, *Eléonore d'Anjou*, *Marguerite d'Anjou*, *Marie Stuart*, *Marie Antoinette*, *Anne d'Autriche*, *Isabelle de Bavière* may be seen there, helping hungry and thirsty customers to "petits verres," "bocks," absinthe, sausages, beefsteaks aux pommes, and other refreshments.

Nothing is too sacred for their love of lucre—their thirst for pelf. They have trafficked on the sympathy stirred up in all French hearts by the misfortunes of *Alsace-Lorraine*, by the loyalty of these devoted sons of France, whom the ruthless brutality of the conqueror had torn from the mother country. After the war of 1870, when the feeling about the lost provinces was strongest, they opened in many streets stores and shops, attended by young women in the picturesque dress of the *Alsatian* peasantry, who, on inquiry, turned out to be neither German, nor *Lorrainers*, nor *Alsatians*, but simply *Jewesses*—and their costume was but stage property to attract customers! The attempt lately made by the notorious *Mme. Limouzin* to run a "*Café de la Légion d'Honneur*," after the *Caffarel* scandal, in which she had played so conspicuous a part, was but an imitation of these *Hebrew* enterprises to coin money out of the misfortune or disgrace of France.

The Jews are invading, monopolizing everything, and everything they put their hands on they are sure to degrade. All that makes an empire strong within and respected without; everything that is calculated to secure public confidence and protect life and property, they have lowered and degraded. The police, commanded by a foreign Jew, has seen its ranks deserted by its most respectable members. The army has been made

a laughing-stock by them on the stage and in the newspapers. All that Frenchmen once gloried in, all that was great and noble in their national institutions, has been sullied and degraded by the unholy touch of these Hebrew adventurers. Nothing has escaped from their pollution and contamination. The sanctuaries of justice, the courts of law, have been turned by them into theatres where vice displays its insolence, into dens of infamy where innocence is entrapped and persecuted. Their judges and magistrates are often degraded satellites of the worst tyranny ever seen. Even before the revolting revelations the Caffarel scandal has brought to light, of the ignoble traffic which was carried on in the rewards of bravery on the battle-field, the Legion of Honour had ceased to have any hold upon the respect of Frenchmen, since they saw every Jewish huckster or comedian wearing the once much coveted "decoration." They have, by the law of divorce, hitherto unknown in the French Code, sought to demoralize the people, and dissolve the family ties.

Legal anarchy reigns everywhere. A systematic campaign of defamation against priests and nuns is carried on by the *Lanterne*, edited by the Jew Meyer. Every day he prints the most atrocious libels against them. When summoned before a court of justice, he is, for appearance sake, sentenced to a nominal or a derisory fine by the Masonic or Jewish judge who presides. Meanwhile the scurrilous abominable falsehoods have been paraded before the public; the young and the ignorant have seen the filthy obscene print, have read or heard the filthy story; religion and its ministers have been reviled and degraded, or brought into contempt, their influence destroyed, and the intended demoralizing effect has been produced. All this is done with the connivance of the powers that be, as the following illustration will prove:—One day this Jew, Mayer, tells his readers of the *Lanterne*, with full circumstantial evidence and shocking details, that a crime has been committed by a sister of charity, Sœur Saint Charles, in the train going to Aix. To give the story all the appearance of truth, so that no one could question it, the name, address of the sister, the day and hour of the crime, all were mentioned. An action for slander being brought against the Jew, the Government (or Crown) prosecutor argued that the libel had been established, but that there was no occasion for granting any damages, inasmuch as the sister was a most respectable and well-known person above any suspicion, and that the injury done to her reputation and fair name was less in proportion, as the respect in which she was held by the public generally was greater; in fact, that she stood so high in the public estimation that the blackest slander could not reach her, nor sully her fair name!



Any charge made by this vile publication, the *Lanterne*, or some other equally disreputable Masonic paper, is at once acted upon by the police. The incriminated persons are arrested and committed to prison, without any other formality, until their case may be brought before a court which will decide whether the charge is true or not. An innocent person, no matter what his position or character, may thus be confined to gaol for three or four months on the simple accusation of an unprincipled editor. Thus, not very long ago, the Abbé Taquet, curé de Ramilly (Nord), was kept in prison for three months, on a charge made by a Masonic paper. When brought before the court, there was not even an attempt made to give any evidence against him; he had to be acquitted. "No matter," said the respectable editor, "he has been in the lock-up all the same." The curate of Ounaing was acquitted by the tribunal of Valenciennes, there being no evidence against him, after he had been incarcerated for three months. The curate of Tourcoing was, after four months' confinement in gaol, acquitted, the charge being simply withdrawn. These things happen, not under any coercion or martial law, but under the ordinary law of the land, as interpreted by the new Republican judges.

Every day the papers relate some gross outrage upon religion in which the chief actors turn out to be Jews. Here are a few among thousands: On the 2nd of February 1881, an individual enters the Church of St. Eustache, in Paris, whilst the burial service for two young children was going on. He is evidently drunk, or feigns to be drunk. He shouts and bellows in the most unearthly manner, so as to interrupt the service, and, when remonstrated with by the beadle, he assaults him; finally the police are brought in, and conduct him to the station, where he is found to be a Jew, Eugène David by name.

In December 1885, the paper *France* mentions another miscreant who, during high mass on Sunday, entered the church in Clamart with his hat on, and a lighted cigar in his mouth, went up to the sanctuary, sat down on the altar steps, and there went on jeering at the congregation. The police turned him out, and ascertained that he is a Jew, Weber by name.

On October 24, 1882, the *Gaulois* relates that at Lyons a man of about forty years of age entered the church of St. Bonaventure, at six o'clock in the morning, during the priest's mass, went up to the altar, assaulted the priest, seized the chalice, and threw it on the floor, shouting "It's time these comedies should be put an end to." When arrested, he declared he was an Israelite.

On the 21st of March 1882, the Jews of Roubaix took occasion of the Carnival for a most impious masquerade. A confessional was paraded through the streets on a vehicle; a Jew, dressed as

a monk, was sitting in the confessional; there were a few notorious prostitutes with him on the car, dressed as nuns. They went one after the other to kneel down before the supposed confessor, presented him with a silver coin, and, after having embraced the confessor, withdrew to make room for the next "penitent." The people, indignant at this outrage upon their Catholic feelings, wanted to inflict summary justice upon the miscreants, but there was a strong posse of police present to protect the masquerade and prevent any one from interfering with it.

In Brest, on the 26th of February, 1884, again Shrove Tuesday, a funeral passed through the Rue St. Yves. When in front of the Magasin du Gros Caillou, a few Jewish vagabonds, dressed as monks (they always select the monk's dress), broke through the procession singing the *De Profundis*, stopped in front of the clergy, and parodied the priest's blessing. The local paper indignantly asked, "Will such ignoble scandal remain unpunished?" It was a rather idle question. . . . To such of our readers as still feel some love for France, for the sake of the great things she has done for God and Holy Church, for the sake of her zealous missionaries who are carrying the faith to the ends of the earth, for the sake of her heroic sisters of charity who are found everywhere where suffering has to be alleviated, it will be a relief, as we confess it has been to us, to find that the chief actors in the abominable sacrileges which have sent a thrill of horror through the Catholic world are mostly foreigners and Jews.

We need not by any means be surprised at this invasion of immorality, of barefaced obscenity, which is taking place under the auspices and guidance of these Jews. They seem to be in their natural element there. Speaking of Languedoc, in which the Jews were very numerous at the time of the Albigenses, Michelet says: "This French Judæa, as Languedoc has been called, did not remind one of its prototype by its bituminous springs and olive groves alone; it had its Sodom and Gomorrah as well. . . . They maltreated the priests as well as the peasants, dressed up their women in the consecrated vestments, beat the clergymen and made them sing mock-mass. Another of their delights was to pollute and break in pieces the images of Christ, to break their arms and legs; war carried on by men without creed or country, impious as we moderns, and fierce as barbarians—war so carried on was fearful."

Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, contemporary of Suger and of St. Bernard, under whose hospitable roof the hapless but brilliant Abelard awaited the end of his eventful life, in his letter to the Bishops of Embrun and of Gap, speaking of Languedoc and this mixed population of Jews and Albigenses, where, as Michelet says, every man was either a Jew or had

Jewish or Moorish blood in his veins, writes as follows: "I have seen Churches profaned, altars overturned, crucifixes burned, priests whipped, monks driven from their monasteries and thrown into prison. They piled up crucifixes and set fire to them, and with the fire so lighted cooked meat on Fridays, and forced the people to eat it." History repeats itself; the miscreants, who are turning France of to-day into a pandemonium, are but repeating the feats of their progenitors of seven centuries ago. They are the same everywhere.

The Abbés Leman, converts from Judaism, in a pamphlet entitled "Letter to the Israelites upon the conduct of their fellow-Jews in Rome during the captivity of Pius IX.," say that when they asked who were the actors in the ignoble scenes which took place in front of the Quirinal, before the churches and elsewhere, where holy things were turned into ridicule, priests insulted, the statues of the Madonna covered with filth, holy images broken and destroyed—the invariable answer was "the buzzuri and the Jews." We find the same spirit everywhere—in Vienna as in Rome or in Paris. A Catholic writer, speaking of the Jews after the passing of the late Concordat with Austria, says: "Since the Concordat the Jewish journalists seem possessed of a regular frenzy; obscene caricatures, representing bishops, especially the Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna, are seen everywhere exposed for sale. The Jew reigns in Vienna, and he shows it by pouring out his wrath and his fury against the Church and the Clergy. The people are daily goaded on by these Jewish newspapers against the Church; the consequence of it is that no priest can pass through the streets of Vienna without being insulted."

Surely this cannot go on for ever. Crémieux himself said when dying, "We have gone too far; this cannot last."

M. Drumont proposes as a remedy to the present intolerable state of things that "the law should take its course—the law of Moses as well as the ancient law of France. By the law of Moses, as given in Leviticus, there was to be a Jubilee every fiftieth year, when everything—house, beast, or field—anything that had been sold or bartered within the fifty preceding years was to be returned to its original owner. The Jews in France seem to have forgotten that law. It is but right that they should be compelled to observe their own law. Moreover, the ancient law of France, which was never directly repealed, required that at the beginning of each reign all the financiers, be they Jews or Christians, should pay into the public treasury four-fifths of all the profits they had made during the reign of the preceding monarch. Thus, at the death of Louis XIV. some wealthy bankers had to sell their castles, their horses and carriages, plate and

jewellery, in order to comply with the law of the land. Let this law be applied to the Jews, who have accumulated all their wealth by financiering of one kind or another. Thus alone will justice be done, and the great social problem be solved which agitates the minds of all." His plan smacks at first sight of wholesale confiscation, but the following arguments in support of it are certainly plausible enough: The confiscation of 1793 meets with general, and on the part of these Jews, with most enthusiastic and unqualified approbation. It was a confiscation of the property of the nobility, who had made France great and powerful, who had fought for it, made it illustrious; it was the fruit of the labour and economies of numberless generations; the heirloom handed from father to son since before the Crusades.

The wealth, the property of the Jews, is the result of usury, of fraud, of stockjobbing; it has not been acquired by honest labour, but is the result of swindles practised on the industrious, hardworking sons of toil.

The Jewish newspapers—the Jews Lockroy and his confederate, Brisson—have long been asking for exceptional taxation on the property of the religious orders, by way of a preparation, as they acknowledge, for a general confiscation.

If it is allowable to confiscate the property of the religious Frenchmen and Frenchwomen, the descendants of many generations of French citizens, who keep our orphanages, tend our sick, feed our poor, and teach them when they are allowed, why should it not be equally allowable to confiscate the property of people who have nothing in common with us, who have never done anything for the common weal; who came a few years ago across the Rhine poor and penniless, and are now rolling in wealth. Peter the Venerable, the Abbot of Cluny, already referred to, is very outspoken on the subject of Jewish property, acquired, as it always is, by plunder and usury. "*Christianis serviant divitiæ Judæorum etiam invitis ipsis.*"

When the police make a swoop on a gambling hell, they generally take the cash they find on the gaming-tables. When thieves and pickpockets are arrested, everything they have about them is seized.

M. de Biez sums up the question in a few pithy sentences:

The Jews are in France, but they are not of France; they are an enemy in the heart of the country; they have been the spies of Germany during the Franco-Prussian War; they have drained the country of its capital; they have grown rich on our poverty; they have brought down the standard of public morality by working upon and flattering the lowest instincts of man; they have sown division and discord amongst us as much as they could, by exciting religious perse-

cutions and religious animosities; they have sought to disorganize society; they have been the heralds and the apostles of all the theories subversive of social order; they have preached and organized the Commune; they have invented Nihilism; Socialism is of their planting; the strikes are patronized by them; they have driven us from every position of influence and of profit, and have placed their own over us. Through our folly they are our legislators, they are our ministers and governors; our treaties of commerce are signed by them; peace and war depend on their sweet will. They have humbled and degraded France and made her a laughing-stock among the nations of the earth. They are our masters, and Frenchmen are now strangers in their own country. We cannot and will not admit that Frenchmen, who have made France what she has been in the past, who have given their best blood for her, multiplied their sacrifices, consecrated all their efforts in trying to raise her to the front rank of nations, should be pushed aside to make room for a parcel of strangers and Hebrews. It is time we should awaken from our lethargy if we do not wish to be crushed to death and exterminated by these miscreants. They have themselves inaugurated, in this Republic of liberty, fraternity, and equality, exceptional legislation, laws of exclusion from the benefit of the common law, and of expulsion from their country, against the religious orders and against the princes. Let them be sent out of France: the public safety and the national honour alike require such a measure.\*

This may seem intolerant, but it is logical. If Drumont's indictment is true—and no attempt has been made to deny it—the wonder only is how Frenchmen could have the apathy to allow this state of things to go on so long.

JEFFREE.

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\* Jaques de Biez: "La Question Juive."

## ART. III.—THE GOSPEL AND THE GOSPELS.

1. *The Preparation of the Incarnation.* By HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1885.
2. *The Nine Months: The Life of Our Lord in the Womb.* Same Author and Publishers. 1885.
3. *The Thirty Years: Our Lord's Infancy and Hidden Life.* Same Author and Publishers. 1885.
4. *The Public Life of Our Lord.* Same Author and Publishers. Nine volumes. 1876–1886.
5. *The Life of our Life.* Same Author and Publishers. Two vols. 1876. (Second Edition, 1886.)
6. *The Works and Words of Our Saviour.* Same Author and Publishers. 1882.
7. *Vita Vitæ Nostræ Meditantibus Proposita.* Same Publishers. 1869.
8. *The Story of the Gospels.* Same Publishers. 1885.

FATHER COLERIDGE'S great work on the Life of Our Blessed Lord, though still far from completion, has reached a stage at which it becomes possible to form something like a comprehensive judgment on the author's plan and its execution. Three volumes bring the history to the outset of the Public Life of Jesus; and nine volumes treat of His public ministry down to within a few months of the Passion. Father Coleridge has moreover published two compendious works, each complete in itself, on the same subject. One of them, "The Life of our Life," contains the text of the Gospels arranged as a harmony in parallel columns, the several sections of the text being supplemented by chapters of narrative and of explanation of the Harmony as such. The other compendium, entitled "The Works and Words of Our Saviour," contains, with some modifications, the narrative and explanatory chapters from "The Life of our Life," but omits the harmonized text of the Gospels, and gives, *in extenso*, only the discourses of our Lord. The Harmony itself has also been published separately, both in Latin and in English, under the titles respectively of "Vita Vitæ Nostræ" (now, unfortunately, out of print) and of "The Story of the Gospels."

It may perhaps be said, without fear of contradiction, that the ideal Life of Our Lord would be the one that should most perfectly promote, in and through it readers, the single though

many-sided purpose for which He lived on earth. If this be true, then it would seem that no *Life of Jesus* can be of the first order of excellence which is not so framed as not only to supply a plentiful store of "spiritual reading" or ascetical instruction, but to subordinate all other aims to that of providing for this primary need. Such at least would seem to be Father Coleridge's conviction. His work may be described as a running commentary, mainly ascetical, on a *Harmony of the Gospels*. That the commentary is mainly ascetical is plain upon the surface of it; and when it becomes critical the criticism is almost always concerned with the elucidation of some harmonistic question. The *Harmony* is the foundation of the whole work; not merely in the sense that the author follows the order of events which his harmonistic studies have led him to adopt as the true one, but in the fuller sense, that he views the Gospel, throughout, as an organic whole, made up of parts whose mutual relations—as exhibited in the *Harmony*—are well worthy of the most patient and careful consideration that can be bestowed upon them. Indeed, if the author's primary purpose has been to provide ascetical instruction ready made, so to say, for those who have not the leisure or the inclination for a minute comparative study of the Gospel at first hand, a purpose second only to this has been to encourage and promote such study in all cases where it may be possible. And this being so, it is impossible not to wish that Father Coleridge had been less determined, throughout the work, to keep his own erudition in the background, that he had here and there drawn more freely from those sources of illustrative information which are at his command, and by means of a judicious selection of references, opened up to younger students, more suggestively than he has in fact done it, the approaches to a reverently critical study of the Evangelical records.

However, that Father Coleridge attaches great importance to this secondary aim of promoting harmonistic studies, is clear from the whole of his preface to "*The Life of our Life*." And he will forgive us if we seem, in the following pages, to leave aside somewhat the admirable spiritual instructions of which his volumes are full, in order to follow out, and apply to the narratives of the four Evangelists, the principles of comparison and combination which he has laid down or suggested. We shall of course make constant reference to his work, and we shall often be helped by the author, even where no formal acknowledgment is made. Still, we shall not content ourselves with merely recording or criticizing his conclusions. Our object is rather to do what little we can to promote the same object which Father Coleridge has had in view, namely, to induce every reader who has the leisure for such pursuits, not to content himself with the reading of introductions



and commentaries, but rather to engage in a close and reverent comparative study of the Gospel records for himself. The introductions and the commentaries will of course help him greatly in the study of the text, but he will sooner or later begin to find that his study of the text is gradually fitting him to gauge the value of such subsidiary aids, and gradually rendering him—in a right sense—more independent of them.

I will venture to promise the student who shall labour in this field [says Father Coleridge] a very abundant compensation. He will, if I am not mistaken, seem to understand better and better, the more deep are his studies, the wonderful unfolding of the divine counsels which is contained in the Life of our Lord. He will, I think, understand Him and His historians in a new way. He will see, in particular, how the whole of human history is, in a certain sense, summed up in the Gospels, because the only aspect of human history which is worth studying, is that of the dealings of the human heart in various conditions with the continually proffered mercies and graces of God. . . .

The study of the Gospels [he adds] in the manner of which I have been speaking, is not an occupation which is only within the reach of the learned, of persons who have a large amount of leisure, or an unusual gift of intelligence. So far is this from being the case, that I do not know any principle that is applied in the following pages which is not perfectly intelligible to Christians of ordinary information, or any conclusion which requires more than simple reverence for the Word of God, and consideration of the circumstances under which the Gospels were written, in order to make it plain. . . . The Gospels are the inheritance of the Christian people in all ages, but an intelligent acquaintance with them would be a specially powerful protection against the sophistries and illusions of our own time. From the highest forms of Protestantism down to the lowest phases of opinion, hardly to be called Christianity, from the objections which are raised under the name of science and history to the most unsubstantial of subjective dreamings, theological error as well as sentimental wilfulness, universalism and immorality as well as sectarian obstinacy—all popular forms of falsehood and deception drop off into dust before the true knowledge of our Lord. And, on the other hand, the four Gospels contain all the heavenly lore which the Church has developed as to the practice of virtue, the path of perfection, union with God, and the highest and most continued prayer. These are treasures which belong to all the children of God, and the shrine in which they are stored up is the Life of Jesus Christ.\*

Reverence for the Word of God, and consideration of the circumstances under which the several Gospels were written, are then, according to Father Coleridge, the sole qualifications absolutely necessary for one who would profitably enter upon such

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\* "The Life of our Life," pp. 58-60.

studies as he so earnestly recommends. But "reverence for the Word of God" must be so understood as to include a determination to pay the closest attention to differences of expression, of style, of method, and of aim on the part of the four Evangelists; and in like manner, "the circumstances under which the Gospels were written" must be understood as including the purpose—manifold in each case—which each of the Evangelists had in view in writing his Gospel. It is only by earnestly attending to these points that we can ever hope to appreciate how beautifully the four Evangelical narratives supplement one another, and how entirely the apparent contradictions which here and there meet us can be in all cases either satisfactorily explained or at least shown to involve no conflict of opposing statements. And it is only by the same earnest attention to these same points that we gradually learn to see something of the fuller and deeper significance of those *vigilantia verba* (to use an expression of St. Augustine's) which we so easily pass over as of no special significance. And again, as a close scrutiny of the style, method, and purpose of each Evangelist is a necessary preliminary to any serious attempt to combine their several narratives into a harmonious whole, so it will necessarily happen that the process of combining the several accounts will throw fresh light on the peculiarities of each. It will be well, then, before going further, to state briefly, and yet in one or two points more fully than Father Coleridge himself, some of the leading characteristics of the four Evangelists.\* It must, however, be premised that, so far as our statements under this head depend for their proof upon internal evidence drawn from the Gospels themselves, a few specimens alone of such internal evidence can here be afforded, and even these not forthwith, but as they may successively present themselves in the rapid sketch which we are presently to give of a portion of the Gospel history.

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\* Father Coleridge has treated this part of his subject in the Preface to the "Life of our Life," pp. 17 *sqq.* It is perhaps a pity that he has confined himself too exclusively, as it seems to us, to those characteristics of the four Evangelists which bear immediately and directly on the construction of a Harmony, referring the reader for further information to "any good introduction to the Gospels." In what follows above, we are indebted, not only to Father Coleridge, but also to Father Cornely's "Introductio ad Novum Testamentum," to Fillion's "Les Evangiles" (perhaps the most serviceable of modern Catholic commentaries), to Patrizi's "De Evangelis," to Grimm's "Einheit der Evangelien" (an admirable and most suggestive work), and to Westcott's "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels." Father Cornely, whose Introductions to the Old and New Testament we should like to see in the hands of every ecclesiastical student, has dealt with the matter which we have in hand at pp. 59 *sqq.*, 108 *sqq.*, 144 *sqq.*, and 238 *sqq.*, of his "Introductio ad N. T."

St. Matthew, as the voice of tradition and the structure of his Gospel alike testify, writes for Jewish Christians. His leading dogmatic purpose is to point out, in the person of Jesus and in the story of His life, the exact and detailed fulfilment of the Messianic prophecies. The Messiah was to be a King, a Law-giver, and a Prophet, and under each of these aspects St. Matthew exhibits our Blessed Lord. His very frequent use of an expression which is peculiar to himself among the Evangelists justifies us in styling him, *par excellence*, the Evangelist of "the Kingdom of Heaven," and his Gospel "the Gospel of the Kingdom." The constant recurrence of the former phrase is, as Father Cornely has pointed out, fuller of significance than might appear at first sight. For in fact it was the Evangelist's aim, while showing clearly that Jesus of Nazareth was most certainly that great king foretold in the Old Testament, at the same time to correct the false impressions which prevailed as to the nature of the Messianic kingdom. A kingdom it was indeed to be, and a kingdom having a province or department here on earth, ruled in the king's absence by a divinely appointed vicar. It was, however, to take its title, not from this probationary dependency in which the full right of citizenship cannot be exercised, but from the seat of government, the glorious country, the better land, in which the franchise (πολιτεῖα, Phil. iii. 20), which we here hold by a precarious tenure, shall be fully recognized and fully enjoyed; it was to be, in name as in fact, the Kingdom, not of Judæa or of Syria, of the East or of the West, but of Heaven. But the Messiah was to be not a King only, but a Law-giver also and a Prophet, and by a Prophet, be it remembered, was meant, not primarily a foreteller of things future, but a man with a heavenly mission and a heavenly message. And it can hardly be doubted that it is with the view of exhibiting our Blessed Lord as Law-giver and Prophet, as well as for the sake of the direct instruction thus conveyed, that St. Matthew has recorded so much more fully than any of his fellow Evangelists those discourses of our Lord which represent His ordinary moral teaching.

St. Mark, writing for Gentile converts, is not concerned to point out the fulfilment of prophecies which would have been at least unfamiliar to his readers. Accordingly, we find that, with two exceptions (one of which, at least, is easily accounted for), the few prophecies quoted in St. Mark's Gospel occur, not in his own narrative, but in the recorded words of others. His brief exordium, *Initium Evangelii Jesu Christi Filii Dei*, by its marked contrast with that of St. Matthew, *Liber generationis Jesu Christi, filii David, filii Abraham*, reveals his purpose of setting forth the Godhead rather than the Messiahship of

our Blessed Lord. And with this purpose in view, while he omits for the most part the discourses of Jesus, he lays almost exclusive stress on His miracles, and in particular on His dominion over the demons. In other respects he agrees on the whole with St. Matthew in his choice of subjects, restoring, however, here and there, the chronological order where St. Matthew had departed from it.\* Though he records fewer events than his predecessor, he records them more fully, adding many striking details to St. Matthew's narrative; and these details, it has been observed, are such as to characterize St. Mark's Gospel as the relation of an eye-witness. Indeed, a closer examination of them tends greatly to confirm the venerable tradition that St. Mark committed to writing the oral narrative of St. Peter himself.

The two later Evangelists, St. Luke and St. John, have this in common, that they are rather more explicit than St. Matthew and St. Mark in declaring the scope and purpose of their respective narratives. St. Luke's exordium gives us to understand that there was in vogue a system of catechetical instruction concerning the acts and words of our blessed Lord (*περὶ ὧν κατηχήθη λόγων*), resting ultimately, for its credibility, on the testimony of eye-witnesses specially accredited to bear testimony to what they had seen (*αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται τοῦ λόγου*). But there was much uncertainty as to the chronological order of events which, for the purpose indicated, might naturally be grouped, as in St. Matthew's Gospel, rather in accordance with their logical relations than with their historical succession. This uncertainty others before him had taken in hand to remove, but without success. But St. Luke, having inquired diligently into the whole history, and traced it out accurately from its commencement (*παρηκολουθηκώς ἀνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς*), claims to have set down in order the incidents which he relates, and this, too, in such a manner as to make clear to the reason the indisputable credibility (*τὴν ἀφαισίαν*) of truths already accepted on the faith of ecclesiastical tradition.

Although, however, the prologue to the third Gospel is thus explicit as to its author's purpose in writing it, the internal structure of the Gospel itself makes it unmistakably clear that he had, besides, other aims in view, assuredly not less important. The earliest notices of the Evangelists which we possess speak to us of St. Luke as holding to St. Paul a relation similar to that which St. Mark held to St. Peter. And this tradition is strongly confirmed when we find the third Evangelist constantly bringing into clear relief the very truths on which the Apostle of the

\* Papias, however, distinctly says that St. Mark did not in all cases attain to chronological exactness.

Gentiles was wont to insist most earnestly. The grataitous and tender mercy of God, the extension of the blessings of redemption to all peoples, the folly of the Jews in presuming on the exclusive possession of privileges which (he is ever reminding them) the chosen people, as such, has forfeited, such are St. Luke's favourite topics. And his choice of incidents, where it differs from that of St. Matthew and St. Mark, is perhaps not less often determined by the teaching which he wished to enforce, than by his intention of supplementing the narratives of the earlier Evangelists. At the same time, the frequency with which he relates incidents similar to, but not identical with, facts recounted by St. Matthew and St. Mark, as well as some of his omissions, compel us to accept Fr. Coleridge's view that the wish to supplement his predecessor must be reckoned among the principal objects which St. Luke had in view.

If St. Matthew may rightly be called the Evangelist of the kingdom of Heaven, and his Gospel "the Gospel of the kingdom," the narrative of the fourth Evangelist may, with great justice, be called "the Gospel of eternal life." "Many other signs also Jesus wrought," says St. John, in a passage which may be regarded as the epilogue of his Gospel—"many other signs also Jesus wrought in the sight of His disciples which are not written in this book. But these are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing you may have life in His name" (xx. 30, 31). Here, certainly, is a clear statement of purposes and aims. "These things are written," or, rather, have been set down in writing, "*that ye may believe.*" Hence the prominence given by St. John, even more than by St. Luke, to what we may call, with the theologians, "motives of credibility." Hence his insistence on the various kinds of "testimony," the testimony of "works" or "signs," no less than of words, whereby the mission and the divinity of our Blessed Lord were set in a clear light for such as did not choose rather to close their eyes, or to turn them aside from the evidence placed before them. "That ye may believe *that Jesus is the Christ.*" In part, then, St. John's purpose coincides with that of St. Matthew. But the careful student will observe that his method in working out this purpose is somewhat different. Instead of the frequent quotation of prophecies verified in detail, we have in St. John a few pointed references to some of the leading types and typical personages of the Old Testament—the Paschal Lamb, the manna, the serpent raised aloft in the desert, Abraham, Jacob, Moses—for the purpose of exhibiting our Blessed Lord not only as superior to them all, but as the one great Antitype in whose person and office all Old Testament types, and all functions under the Old Dispensation—whether

patriarchal or Mosaic—are summed up and fulfilled and find their explanation. But St. John does not stop short at setting forth the Messiahship of Jesus. He writes also that his readers may “believe that Jesus is the Son of God.” Indeed the insistence of the fourth Evangelist (ὁ θεόλογος) on the divinity of our Lord is too trite a theme to need dwelling on here. It must be sufficient to note here that as in dealing with the Messiahship of Jesus St. John’s method differs from that of St. Matthew; so in dealing with the divinity of the Word, his method differs from that of St. Mark. St. Mark, as has been said, devotes himself principally to the vivid and accurate portrayal of a series of miracles wrought by our Lord. It is true that he does not forget, as Fr. Cornely has pointed out, to draw attention to the effect produced by these miracles on the beholders; still, on the whole, he leaves the evidence of miracles to work out its proper result in the mind of the reader. St. John, in his far more minute account of a few selected miracles, lays far greater stress on the various effects of each on the minds and hearts and conduct of those who were witnesses of them, and on the discussions to which they severally gave rise. Moreover, though he describes only a few miracles, he alludes to, and takes for granted, the existence of a great body of such facts, and repeatedly shows how Jesus Himself explicitly insisted on the nature and force of such evidence, as the testimony which His Heavenly Father rendered to the truth of His assertions concerning Himself. Then, too, St. John, far from limiting himself to the assertion and proof of the great truth that Jesus is God, devotes himself to the development and drawing out of this great truth by telling us much, which the other Evangelists had left unrecorded, of what our Blessed Lord was pleased to reveal to His hearers concerning His own divine life. And this word “life” brings us back again to that which St. John declares to have been his ruling purpose in recording what he has set down. “These things are written that ye may believe . . . . and that believing ye may have life in His name.” How dominant a thought with the Evangelist was this one of “life”—of life eternal, a life to be entered upon through faith, and enjoyed in the closest union with the Incarnate Saviour, appears on almost every page of his Gospel, and shows itself most of all in the opening words of that Epistle which is rightly regarded as in some sense a supplement or appendix to the Gospel. “That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes and our hands have handled, concerning the word of life (and the life was manifested, and we have seen and do bear witness, and declare unto you the life eternal, which was with the Father, and hath appeared unto us), that which we have seen



and have heard we declare unto you, that you also may have fellowship with us, and our fellowship may be with the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ" (1 John i. 1—3).

But while the epilogue to the Gospel and the prologue to the First Epistle of St. John thus clearly set forth his principal aim in writing, it is to the first verses of his gospel that we must turn for an indication of the way in which this aim was to be carried out. Of the exordium of the fourth Gospel, Fr. Coleridge has given an admirable exposition,\* of which we must content ourselves here with a very meagre abstract. St. John, then, transcending at the outset of his Book those limits of space and time within which his predecessors, in accordance with their several purposes, had confined themselves, and echoing the opening words of the Book of Genesis, goes back to the great beginning of all things, the eternal generation of the Divine Word; and having indicated in three clauses the eternity, the divine nature, and the distinct personality of the Word, passes on to His relations with creatures. "By him," he says, still alluding to Genesis, "was made [more literally 'came to be'] all things that were made, and without him was made nothing that was made." A third time echoing Genesis, he speaks of the Word as the light, a light which was the very life of men; but which, alas! when it shined upon the darkness of men's souls, failed for the most part—through the perversity of mankind—to penetrate the obscurity and to dissipate that shadow of death wherein they dwelt. Then, passing from the general to the particular, he goes on to speak of the Incarnation, heralded by the Baptist who "came to bear witness to the light." He tells us how the world of His own creation knew Him not, and how the people of His own choice received Him not. And he tells us, too, of the new sonship, acquired by a new generation, not material (*non ex sanguinibus*), nor animal (*neque ex voluntate carnis*), nor human (*neque ex voluntate viri*), but wholly spiritual and divine in its origin; a sonship which is the blessed privilege of those who, in faith and charity, welcomed that Word made flesh, who set up in our midst the tabernacle of His mortal Body.†

Such an exordium prepares us for the story of a conflict, the great world-long conflict between light and darkness in the

\* The "Preparation of the Incarnation," p. 156 *sqq.*

† "The Word was made flesh and tabernacled among us." That we are thus definitely to understand the very definite *ἐσκήνωσεν* appears to us to be rendered almost certain by such passages as Col. ii. 9, Heb. ix. 11, John ii. 19-21, Heb. x. 20, in which our Lord's Body is spoken of, or alluded to, as a dwelling-place, a tabernacle, a temple, and His flesh as the veil of the temple, concealing the glory of His divinity from view. Cf. Coleridge, *op. cit.* p. 193.



spiritual order, as archetypally exemplified in the life of Jesus. It shows us, too, that St. John intends to carry out what we have called his ruling purpose, not merely by way of argument, but also by way of example; setting before us, as a warning, the story of the world which perversely rejected to its own condemnation "the light of life;" and throughout contrasting with this perversity the consoling and encouraging example of the faithful few who came to Jesus, and stayed with Him, because they recognized that He had "the words of life eternal," and that eternal life alone was worthy of their desires.

It was, we may be sure, in Jerusalem rather than at a distance from the centre of Jewish life, that our Lord dwelt more fully on those great truths concerning His Person and office which St. John has made his own. It was certainly in Jerusalem that the opposition of the Jewish authorities took its rise and was matured. The historian then of the more distinctly dogmatic teaching of Jesus, the historian of the conflict between the darkness and the light, between the world and Him who came to save it, would naturally select for more especial record and description, incidents which occurred, discourses which were delivered, and disputes which were held in the holy city. In some measure, then, the didactic purpose of the fourth Evangelist accounts for the peculiar structure of his Gospel. It is, as every reader knows, a discontinuous narrative, confined—with a few marked exceptions—to what passed on occasion of five successive visits which Jesus paid to Jerusalem during the course of his public life. Still, St. John's aim in writing, though it may account for all that he has told us, certainly does not account for all that he has omitted to tell; and many indications, which occur from time to time throughout his narrative, make it clear that he aimed very directly at supplementing by a record of events which they had left untouched the accounts of the three "Synoptists." These accounts he evidently supposes to be known to his readers.\*

The fact that our Lord's visits to Jerusalem took place on occasion of the great Jewish festivals, together with St. John's great care to mark the passage of time within the limits of the public life of our Lord, has made of his Gospel a sort of chronological framework, into which the sketch of the Galilean, Perea, and Judean ministry supplied by the other Evangelists must be

\* Any one, for instance, who reads St. John's account of the Passion with the idea in his mind that it is a series of notes which add largely to our knowledge of points on which the other Evangelists have touched but slightly, will find it a most intelligible history; whereas, if it be considered in the same plane, so to speak, as the former narratives, it will certainly engender a considerable number of difficult questions. "The Life of our Life," vol. i. p. 57.

fitted. On some marked characteristics of St. John's style, such as his emphatic repetitions of leading words and phrases, his frequent insistence upon certain leading ideas (those, especially, of "Life," "Light," "Darkness," "Truth," "Witness," "Glory," "Signs," "Works," "the Will of the Father") the limits of our space forbid us to dwell here. Some of his peculiarities of style will, indeed, readily present themselves to the careful reader; and one or two of these we may have occasion to call attention to in the course of the following pages.

We are now to turn to the actual Gospel narrative, chronologically arranged by a combination of the four evangelical records, and while passing it rapidly in review, to take notice, as occasion arises, of the notes of time supplied by the several Evangelists, and of some of the characteristic contributions to the history which are peculiar to each.

Passing over the eternal truths and grand generalisations of St. John's prologue, and coming at once to the mysteries of the Sacred Infancy, as recorded by St. Matthew and St. Luke, we are struck at the outset by the marked difference in the treatment of the subject by the two Evangelists. St. Matthew records: (1) the genealogy of our Lord; (2) His virginal conception; (3) the visit of the Magi; (4) the flight into Egypt; (5) the massacre of the Innocents; and (6) the return of the Holy Family. Now the genealogy is introduced by a direct allusion to prophecy; of the virginal conception, the dream of St. Joseph, and his re-assurance by the Angel, we are told: "All this was done that the word might be fulfilled which the Lord spoke by the Prophet," &c.; the Magi are informed by the Chief Priests and Scribes (unwilling witnesses assuredly) that the Christ was to be born "in Bethlehem of Judea, for so it is written by the Prophet," &c.; the flight into Egypt was allowed in God's providence in order "that it might be fulfilled which the Lord spoke by the Prophet," &c.; in the slaughter of the Innocents "was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the Prophet," &c.; and lastly, on the return from Egypt, Joseph "came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophets, that He shall be called a Nazarene" (Matt. i. ii.)\*

St. Luke, on the other hand, though he quotes words of the Archangel Gabriel, of Zachary, of Elizabeth, of Our Blessed Lady, and of Simeon, which are full to overflowing of Old Testament phraseology, nevertheless makes but one explicit reference to the Jewish Scriptures, and this, not for the sake of pointing out the fulfilment of a prophecy, but simply in order to

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\* "The Thirty Years," ch. xv.

explain that the presentation of our Lord in the Temple, and the offering of a pair of doves, was an ordinance prescribed in the divine law of Moses (*secundum legem Moysi . . . sicut scriptum est in lege Domini*).

But while St. Luke has not found it to his purpose to call attention to the fulfilment of prophecy in the wonderful events which he records, it is especially noteworthy how careful he has been so to shape his narrative as to place beyond all possibility of reasonable doubt, on the part of a fair-minded inquirer, the truth of the mysteries of which he is the historian. An abundance of miraculous evidence, in attestation of the high and unique mission of St. John the Baptist, and so, indirectly of the divinity of our Blessed Lord himself, had heralded the birth of the precursor. And St. Luke has made it his special business, not merely to put this evidence on record, but to show that—far from being accessible to members of the Holy Family alone—it was forcibly thrust upon the notice of great numbers of persons of very various conditions. The unwonted tarrying of Zachary in the Temple while “all the multitude of the people was praying without” caused them to “wonder that he stayed so long,” and called marked attention to the fact of his having been struck dumb, so that all present “understood that he had seen a vision.” And again, when by a second miracle, on occasion of the naming of his son, Zachary’s tongue was loosed, we are told that “fear came upon all their neighbours, and all these words were” not merely known in Jerusalem, but “divulged over all the mountainous country of Judea. And all they who had heard them laid them up in their heart, saying: What a one, think ye, shall this child be?” And, again, whereas the Magi in St. Matthew’s narrative depart by another way into their own country, without, apparently, spreading the knowledge of our Blessed Lord among His own people, St. Luke tells us how the shepherds made known their good tidings to many, and how Anna the Prophetess “spoke of Him to all that looked for the redemption of Israel.” This feature of the opening chapters of St. Luke’s Gospel—the writer’s insistence on miraculous and prophetic evidences which must have been of common fame among the people of Jerusalem and Judea—has been well drawn out by Dr. Grimm in his excellent work on the Unity of the Gospels, but perhaps it has not received at Father Coleridge’s hands all the attention which it deserved.

The third Evangelist, who “diligently attained to all things from the beginning . . . according as they have delivered them unto us who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the Word,” could not, assuredly, overlook the original and most authentic source of all information concerning the mysteries

which preceded, accompanied, and immediately followed the birth of Jesus; and it cannot be doubted that his first and second chapter present us with a faithful transcript of what he learned from the venerable lips of our Blessed Lady herself.\* It must therefore be set down to a special Providence of God that what he derived from this source should have fallen in so aptly with what has already been specified as the main dogmatic purpose of his Gospel, the purpose, namely, of setting forth the greatness of God's mercy, especially as exhibited in the economy of the Incarnation; a mercy offered, indeed, in the first place to the people of "Israel according to the flesh," but forthwith extended to all such as were willing, by accepting it, to enrol themselves among "the Israel of God." The holy Precursor was to "convert to the Lord their God many of the children of Israel," but he was also "to prepare unto the Lord a perfect people." The Magnificat is a canticle of praise and of gratitude to God for mercy shown to the lowly, while the proud and the mighty have been rejected. It is true that "the mighty" who have been "put down from their seat" are, in the literal sense of the canticle, no other than the fallen angels. But the inspired words of our Lady express a law of God's dealings with men as well as with angels, a law which St. Luke's Gospel again and again sets forth. The closing words of the Magnificat are: "He hath taken unto himself Israel his servant to uphold him,† mindful of his mercy to Abraham and to his seed for ever, according as he spoke to our fathers," *i.e.*, in fulfilment of the promises which he made to them. And the canticle of Zachary takes up at its outset the same theme, develops it, and, in concluding, adds to it. There is first the praise of God "because He hath visited and wrought redemption for his people," according to the promises which He made through the prophets, and to "the oath which he swore unto Abraham our father." But at the close of his hymn of praise the holy patriarch alludes to the universal diffusion of those

\* "The Preparation of the Incarnation," pp. 137, 274.

† We have ventured thus to translate the expressive word *ἀντελάβετο* having regard to two passages in Isaiah (xli. 9, xlii. 1) in which the same word occurs in the Septuagint version, and to which there is an evident allusion in Luke i. 54. Father Coleridge compares also, and with reason, the well known verse, Heb. ii. 16, "*nusquam angelos apprehendit* (*ἐπιλαμβάνεται*) *sed semen Abraham apprehendit*." But his reference to Isaiah is not quite correct. The word *ἀντελάβομαι* occurs, not in Isai. xli. 8 (which he has quoted), but in the following verse; and it is rendered, not "I have chosen," but "I have taken hold of" in the Revised Version, and "I have taken" in the Douay and Authorised Version. Cheyne gives "fetched." In Isai. xlii. 1, the same word in the Septuagint is represented by "I uphold" in the Douay, Authorised Version, Revised Version, and in Cheyne's Translation.

blessings of which the promise had been made to the father and through the prophets of the chosen people. "The Orient from on high hath visited us; to enlighten them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death." And as the Benedictus takes up and develops the closing theme of the Magnificat, so the Nunc Dimittis amplifies and makes explicit the closing thought of the hymn of Zachary. "Mine eyes have seen thy salvation, *which thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples; a light for the enlightening of the Gentiles*," for they in a more especial manner sat "in darkness and in the shadow of death;" "a *light for the enlightening of the Gentiles*," as well as (or rather, *and therefore*) "the glory of Thy people Israel." We must fain content ourselves with referring our readers to Father Coleridge's pages for a beautiful and profound commentary on these three canticles.\*

To return to St. Luke's narrative. The story of the Nativity "flows on calmly and sweetly as if the writer had no other purpose in view than simply to relate what had happened;" with no *arrière pensée*, argumentative, controversial, or critical. Still, notice should be taken of the words with which the angels greeted the shepherds on the night of the Nativity, words of which so many echoes are to be found in the writings of St. Paul. It can hardly be called in question that our common translation "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will" altogether fails to render the sense of the original, so long as any ordinary meaning is given to the words "good will." The "good will" in question, Father Coleridge points out, is the "good pleasure" of God, rather than a right disposition in man; and the "men of [God's] good pleasure" are those whom He foreknew and pre-ordained to be partakers of the benefits of the Incarnation.†

The succession of the festivals of the Church at Christmastide has so accustomed us to think of the visit of the Magi as having taken place within a few days of the Nativity, that it requires something of an effort, and an attentive reading of the first and third Gospels to convince us, not merely that this visit must be placed after the Purification of our Lady, but also that a journey to Nazareth, and a transference of the holy household to Bethlehem, took place between the Purification and the arrival of the Magi. That Mary and Joseph with the Child went down to Nazareth after the Purification, is explicitly declared by St.

\* "The Nine Months," pp. 161 *sqq.*, 246 *sqq.*; "The Thirty Years," pp. 122 *sqq.*

† *Eudokia*=*beneplacitum* scil. *Dei*, Eph. i. 5, 9; Phil. i. 15, ii. 13. We assume the correct reading to be *καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας*. "The Thirty Years," pp. 42-44.

Luke, while St. Matthew's words about St. Joseph going to Nazareth rather than to Bethlehem on his return from Egypt would be out of place, unless Nazareth had given place to Bethlehem as the home of the Holy Family before the sudden flight.\*

In passing from the Infancy to the Public Life of our Blessed Lord, we may observe that St. Luke alone of the four Evangelists brings the Gospel history into chronological relation with the events of the outside world. It is he who tells us of the census ordered by Augustus, and taken in Syria by Quirinus; it is he who gives in such minute detail the date of the beginning of the Baptist's ministry; while he is also careful to record the age of Jesus, not only at the time of the tarrying in the Temple, but also—which is more important, at the time of His baptism. It is from these notes of time alone, taken in connection with what St. John lets us know as to the duration of the Public Life, and with what we learn from profane history, that any safe conclusions can be drawn as to the dates of the birth and death of Jesus.

All the Evangelists agree in introducing what they have to tell us as to the public ministry of our Lord by some account of the preaching of His precursor. And it is noteworthy that all four Evangelists agree in quoting, concerning him, the prophesy of Isaias (xl. 3): "The voice of one crying in the wilderness," and the rest. As this is the single exception in the case of St. Luke, and almost the single exception in the case of St. Mark, to their practice of not directly quoting prophecy, it may be concluded with something like certainty that this reference to Isaias formed a part of the traditional oral account of the Baptist's preaching which was in common use long before the Gospels came to be committed to writing. And this is the more probable inasmuch as we learn from St. John (i. 23) that these words of the prophet were adopted by the Baptist himself as part of his official description of his own mission. It is characteristic of St. Luke that, while he agrees with St. Matthew and St. Mark in quoting the words above referred to, he alone carries on the quotation to its conclusion; a conclusion so much in harmony with the universalism—if we may use the word in an orthodox sense—of the third Gospel. "Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low, and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways plain, and all flesh shall see the salvation of God" (iii. 5, 6). To St. Luke also, we owe the record of the special counsels given by the Precursor to different classes of applicants for instruction and baptism; and among these classes—he is careful to tell us—were publicans and soldiers, many of whom would of course be Gentiles.†

\* "The Thirty Years," pp. 173-182.    † "The Public Life," vol. i. p. 24.



It is noteworthy, too, that at a later point of his Gospel he so far departs from the order of time as to refer back to these earlier days in the words peculiar to and characteristic of himself: "*And all the people hearing, and the publicans, justified God, being baptized with John's baptism. But the Pharisees and the lawyers despised the counsel of God against themselves [i.e., to their own cost] being not baptized by him*" (vii. 29, 30).

Several other details, all more or less characteristic of the writer, are contributed by St. Luke to the history of our Lord's baptism. It is he who tells us that at this time "people were of opinion, and all were thinking in their hearts of John, that perhaps he might be the Christ;" and that the baptism of Jesus took place in a very public manner, "while all the people were being baptized" (ἐν τῷ βαπτισθῆναι ἅπαντα τὸν λαόν); and that it was while Jesus was *praying* after His baptism\* that the heavens were opened, and the voice was heard and the Holy Ghost descended upon Him "in a bodily shape as a dove" (iii. 15, 21, 22).† St. Mark, on the other hand, is alone in telling us that "Jesus *saw* the heavens opened, and the Holy Spirit descending and remaining on him." St. Mark again gives the detail, in connection with our Lord's fasting in the desert, that "He was with the wild beasts;" while the physician St. Luke ‡ is careful to observe that "he did eat nothing in those days."

In the narrative of the Temptations Father Coleridge has, not without good reason, preferred the order of St. Luke to that of St. Matthew; adopting, as more probable, the opinion that the last of the three temptations was that on the pinnacle of the Temple.§ For, as he well points out, internal probability is not wanting to strengthen in this particular case the general presumption which should incline us in favour of St. Luke's order where it differs from that of St. Matthew's Gospel. The temptations to the indulgence of the appetite for food, to the gratification of a natural desire for worldly aggrandisement, and to a manifestation of spiritual pride, undoubtedly rise—in the moral order—to a climax; and this sequence precisely corresponds *mutatis mutandis* with that which is observed in St. John's enumeration of the three elements of worldliness, "the concupiscence of the flesh, the concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life." Again, "a greater exertion of his natural powers was permitted to Satan in the temptation on the pinnacle of the Temple" than in those which on this hypothesis preceded it:

\* Cf. Luke vi. 12: "Erat pernoctans in oratione Dei."

† The precision of the expression is noteworthy. St. Matthew and St. Mark says simply "as a dove."

‡ "*Lucas, medicus carissimus*," Col. iv. 14.

§ "The Public Life," vol. i. pp. 77-81.



and the mention of the angels in Satan's quotation (a maliciously incomplete quotation) from the ninetyeth Psalm seems naturally to lead up to the beautiful concluding scene of the mystery: "Then the devil left him [for a season,' St. Luke adds], and behold angels came and ministered unto him" (Matt. iv. 11).

"It remains," adds Father Coleridge "to assign if possible some reason why, if the temptations really took place in the order given by St. Luke, St. Matthew should have inverted the order." And he suggests two such reasons. St. Matthew's Gospel is, as has been said, emphatically "the Gospel of the Kingdom." It has for one of its main purposes to tell us of the heavenly sovereignty conferred upon our Lord, as man, by the Eternal Father. And so its writer "may have been led to regard the temptation in which the kingdoms of the world were offered to Him by Satan as the climax of all." Moreover, it has been suggested by some writers, referred to with approval by Father Coleridge, that St. Matthew's order answers to that of three clauses which may be distinguished in Satan's temptation of our first parents; one of those "works of the devil" which it was Christ's special purpose "to undo." \* "For the devil said to our first parents: 'In the day in which ye shall eat thereof,' and here is gluttony; 'you shall be like God' (*sic*), and here is vain-glory; 'knowing good and evil,' and here is avarice, because there is avarice not only of money but also of knowledge. And thus according to the intention which Christ had of conquering Satan the order of the temptations is arranged" by St. Matthew,† who had so keen a sense of the manifold correspondences between the Old and the New Testament.

At this point of the history St. John comes in to supplement the accounts of the Synoptists. He, too, has much to say of the preaching of the Baptist, and in particular of the "testimony" which it was his special purpose to render to "the light." This testimony he insists upon with characteristic iteration.‡ While, however, the other Evangelists refer principally to what occurred

\* "*In hoc apparuit Filius Dei ut solvat opera diaboli*" (1 John iii. 8).

† Sylveira *apud* Coleridge, l.c. It is right to add that the phrase "the gospel of the kingdom," as applied to St. Matthew's Gospel, is not Father Coleridge's; but it seems to us to sum up and succinctly express his idea.

‡ "*Hic venit in testimonium, ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine. . . . Non erat ille lux sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine. . . . Joannes testimonium perhibet de ipso, et clamat, dicens: Hic erat quem dixi, &c. . . . Et hoc est testimonium Joannis quando miserunt Judæi ab Jerosolymis . . . Et testimonium perhibuit Joannes dicens: Quia vidi Spiritum descendentem quasi columbam de cælo, et mansit super eum . . . Et ego vidi, et testimonium perhibui, quia hic est Filius Dei. . . . Et venerunt ad Joannem et dixerunt ei: Rabbi, qui erat tecum trans Jordanem, cui tu testimonium perhibuisti ecce, hic baptizat," &c.*

on the banks of the Jordan previously to the baptism of Jesus, St. John alludes to the baptism as an event already past at the time of which he is speaking. On the other hand, he is equally careful to indicate that all which he relates from the nineteenth verse of his first chapter down to the end of his fourth, preceded that Galilean preaching to which the other Evangelists pass on immediately from their account of the Temptations. These allusions to facts not recorded in his own Gospel, allusions which find their explanation only on a comparison of the fourth Gospel with its predecessors, show clearly that distinctively supplementary character of St. John's narrative on which Father Coleridge so frequently and so justly insists.\*

In the passage which extends from ch. i. 19 to ch. ii. 11 of his narrative, the fourth Evangelist—who is even more careful about internal marks of time than St. Luke about those which may be called external—accurately marks the succession of six or perhaps seven days; of which, if we may hazard a conjecture, the first was no other than that of our Lord's Temptation. On the first day the deputation from Jerusalem arrives, to question John concerning his person and mission. On the second John sees Jesus approaching (on His return from the Fasting and Temptation); and proclaims Him as “the Lamb of God.” On the third day he again points out Jesus as the Lamb of God to two of the future Apostles, Andrew and (no doubt) John, who abide that day with him; and Andrew in his turn brings his brother Simon, who there and then receives the promise that he shall be called Cephas (Peter). It is obvious, we may observe in passing, how noteworthy is the addition here made by the fourth Evangelist to our knowledge of these Apostles, and of the manner of their vocation. When we are thus introduced to them—for the first time in the Gospel history—we find them far from their homes and ordinary pursuits, and busy about their eternal interests: and the first stage of their vocation is their being lovingly invited to “come and see” where the Master dwells, and what is the manner of His life. On the fourth day, Jesus, about to depart for Galilee, invites Philip to accompany Him; and Philip calls Nathaniel, whom Jesus wins over by reading the secrets of his heart. We have said that it was St. John's purpose to confirm the faith of his readers in the Messiahship of Jesus; and that he carried out this purpose not merely by way of argument but also by force of the example of souls which yielded readily the obedience of faith. And accordingly we find set before us, here at the very outset of his Gospel, the conspicuous example of these four future Apostles, with their ready confessions of faith: “We have found the

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\* Cf. Cornely, *op. cit.* pp. 246-247.

Messiah ; " " We have found Him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write ; " " Rabbi, thou art the son of God, thou art the King of Israel." Nor must we pass over, without calling attention to it as characteristic of St. John's method, the reference, in our Lord's conversation with Nathaniel, to Jacob's ladder as a type of the Incarnation.

Two days, or possibly three (*τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ*), after the calling of Philip and Nathaniel, " There was a marriage at Cana of Galilee, and the mother of Jesus was there ; and Jesus also was invited, and his disciples, to the marriage." The reader of these pages need not be told that in his commentary on the story of the miracle of Cana, Father Coleridge is at his best, as he always is when the honour of our Immaculate Mother is concerned. For our present purpose we must content ourselves with noticing that St. John calls marked attention to the fact that—though He already had a following of disciples—this was our Lord's first miracle ; and that after it, " He went down to Capharnaum, he and his mother, and his brethren, and his disciples, *and they remained there not many days. And the pasch of the Jews was at hand*, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem." And then follows the account of the first expulsion of the buyers and sellers from the Temple, and of the interview, by night, with Nicodemus.

In all that St. John tells us of what passed on occasion of the successive visits of Jesus to Jerusalem, he supplements, as has been said, in a most important particular the narratives of the Synoptists, who have omitted to speak of this portion of our Lord's ministry. But his account of the expulsion of the buyers and sellers from the Temple is a specially valuable addition to the earlier records. For, in common with other facts related by the same Evangelist, it brings out forcibly the unchanging sameness of our Lord's teaching, aims, and claims, from the very outset of His public life to its very close, when—as we know from the other Evangelists—He a second time drove out the intruding traffickers.

In relating the interview with Nicodemus, St. John pursues his leading purpose of unfolding in our Lord's own words the sublime doctrine of eternal life. The great truth that " Unless a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God," is the text of our Lord's discourse.

In the Jewish notion [says Father Coleridge] the kingdom of Heaven or of God was a blessed, prosperous, and glorious continuation or restoration of the empire of the throne of David, extended over the whole earth, and adorned with every circumstance of magnificence and temporal well-being. Or, if to men like Nicodemus it was something more connected with the necessities of the soul or the functions of the interior life, still it was something growing out of the existing institutions of Judaism

into which men might pass from them with no great violence or radical renovation."\*

But Jesus, going to the very root of the matter with one who, as a "teacher of Israel," might be supposed capable of apprehending the idea of the supernatural, at once lays it down that they alone can be citizens in the kingdom of God who, by a new birth, or rather by a new generation, acquire a new life. This life is that to which the exordium of St. John's Gospel had made reference; the life of adopted "sons of God"; a life with new capacities and new functions; a life which cannot be called a new nature only, because it transcends the whole order of created nature, being in fact, to use St. Peter's emphatic words, a participation in the divine nature itself.† Presently Jesus reiterates this truth about the necessity of a new birth, with an important addition: "Unless a man be born anew *of water and the Holy Ghost* [in the Greek text "Unless a man be begotten of water and the Spirit"], he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." These words, on the one hand, serve to explain, and are, at the same time, explained by, the Precursor's prophecy of one who should baptize in water and the Holy Ghost; while they point out on the other hand the sacramental instrumentality whereby the supernatural life was to be communicated to the soul, as it was also to be sacramentally supported, sacramentally perfected, and sacramentally restored.

After a rebuke to Nicodemus for his slowness in apprehending these mysteries, Jesus continues His discourse by an emphatic assertion of His own divinity, and of the great truth, prefigured in one of the most beautiful types of the Old Testament—that the Son of Man was to be, through His death on the Cross, the source of that supernatural life concerning which He had already said so much.

As Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of Man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth in Him may not perish, but may have life everlasting. For God so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him may not perish, but may have life everlasting (John iii. 14, 15).

From Jerusalem St. John takes us into the country parts of Judea, near the Jordan, where Jesus spent some time with His

\* "The Public Life," vol. i. pp. 256-57.

† "*Divinæ consortes naturæ*," 2 Peter i. 4. *Apropos* of the phrase, "Teacher of Israel," it is noteworthy that the Greek text has the definite article, ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ. Departing a little from Father Coleridge's interpretation, we would suggest that the force of the whole question is this: "Art thou *that* manner of teacher to whom Israel may look for instruction, and yet understandest not these things?" i.e., "Is one who is incapable of understanding these mysteries fitted to be a teacher of Israel?"

disciples, and baptized those who came to Him. During this short period—for short it probably was—the ministry of the Baptist and the ministry of our Blessed Lord proceeded simultaneously; and the jealousy which this strong rival attraction excited in the minds of the Precursor's disciples gave occasion to St. John's last testimony to Him whose way he had come to prepare. He had already given to our Blessed Lord one of His most beautiful titles, that of "the Lamb of God;" he now speaks of Him under another touching designation, that of "the Bridegroom," in words which for their expression of chivalrous affection, combined with self-effacing humility, are unsurpassed:

He that hath the bride is the bridegroom; but the friend of the bridegroom, who standeth and heareth him, with joy rejoiceth because of the bridegroom's voice. This my joy therefore is fulfilled. Need is that He wax greater, but that I grow less (John iii. 29, 30).

And here we must pause, to give a specimen of Father Coleridge's commentary. This image of the Bridegroom, as applied to Christ in relation to His Church, had been, as the author points out, in various ways anticipated in the Old Testament. And this, not only in such evidently mystical passages as the forty-fourth Psalm (*Eructavit cor meum*) "which is more directly to be understood of the Incarnation and of the Espousals of Christ," but also in narratives which are at first sight purely historical. Passing over the history of the original institution of marriage itself, examples of such narratives are:

The story of the mission of Eliezer by Abraham to bring a wife for his son Isaac from among his own kindred, and the story of the long love borne by Jacob for his beautiful cousin Rachel, and the hard service he so joyfully underwent for the sake of winning her as his wife. Seen by the light of later pages of Sacred Scripture, these idylls, if we may so speak, of Patriarchal history glow with fresh and spiritual beauty, without losing their natural grace and simplicity. They express the long search and desire of Christ for His Church, . . . the labour He has undergone for her sake, the rich treasures with which He endows her, the perfect union which He forms between her and Himself. . . .

The image is used, as we have seen, at the very dawn of the New Dispensation, by St. John the Baptist, and from his mouth it was, as it were, adopted by our Lord Himself, who, in answer to the question put to Him by the disciples of the Baptist about fasting, spoke of the children of the bride-chamber as being unable to mourn so long as the Bridegroom is with them. Our Lord uses the same figure in His parables, as when He speaks of the King who made a wedding feast for his son, and in [the story of] the wise and foolish virgins. Thus we trace the figure from the Gospels into the Epistles, in which the words and mysteries of our Lord meet us in the form of dogmas and sacraments. St. Paul speaks of the union between Christ and His

Church as the model of all true and loving marriages, and connects the sacrament of marriage itself with that union as its mystical consecration: and then, as the volume of Holy Scripture had begun with the union of Adam and Eve in the holy tie which God made for them, the last page of the same sacred writing tells us of the marriage supper of the Lamb.\*

From Judea we pass, still following St. John's Gospel, into Samaria. It would seem that the more usual route from Jerusalem to Galilee, whither Jesus was going, was by way of Jericho, the fords of the Jordan near that city, and the road through Perea on the east side of the river. But on this occasion, whatever other reasons there may have been for passing through Samaria, the Sacred Heart had work to do at "a city of Samaria which is called Sichar." Jesus who, in His parable of the good Samaritan, was to adopt and take to Himself the very title which was flung at Him in scorn (*Samaritanus es tu et demonium habes*, John viii. 48) chose to work the first of His recorded conversions among that despised people. Sitting, weary, at the edge of Jacob's well, He unfolded to the Samaritan sinner something suitable to her capacity, of the great doctrine of eternal life, and of His own functions as the source of that life:

Whosoever drinketh of this water, shall thirst again; but he that shall drink of the water that I will give him shall not thirst for ever: but the water that I will give him shall become in him a fountain of water springing up into life everlasting.

And, then, having won her faith, as he had won that of Nathaniel, by reading the secrets of her heart, and having spoken to her of that "adoration in spirit and in truth" which was to take the place of the old worship, He goes on to declare to her His own Messiahship with a directness which is, if we mistake not, unparalleled in His other discourses: "I am He who am speaking with thee." On this, so full of her news that she "left her water-pot by the well," she—

went her way into the city, and said to the men there: Come and see a man who hath told me all things whatsoever I have done. Is not He the Christ? They went, therefore, out of the city, and came unto Him . . . And of that city many of the Samaritans believed in Him for the word of the woman giving testimony: He told me all things whatsoever I have done. So when the Samaritans were come to Him, they desired Him that He would tarry there. And He abode

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\* "The Public Life," vol. i. pp. 290-292. The passage quoted above is followed by several pages of admirable ascetical instruction concerning the privileges and the duties of those souls who are called to a close union with our Lord, which may be very specially commended to the notice of priests, religious, and frequent communicants.

there two days. And many more believed in Him because of His own word. And they said to the woman, we now believe, not for thy saying, for we ourselves have heard Him, and know that this is indeed the Saviour of the World.

We have quoted these words at some length not only as a characteristic specimen of St. John's style, but also on account of their bearing upon other words, both in St. John's own Gospel and in those of the Synoptist.

It is hardly to be doubted that this graphic picture of the willing faith of the Samaritan is intended as a contrast to another scene, not indeed recorded by St. John himself, but alluded to by him in the words which immediately follow: "Now after two days He departed thence and went into Galilee. For Jesus himself gave testimony that a prophet hath no honour in his own country."

Puzzling words at first sight, because there is nothing in St. John's narrative which affords any explanation of them. The fourth Evangelist tells us nothing of any rejection of our Lord in Galilee, or rather (for such is the real purport of the word *patria* "birth-place" or "place of bringing up") at Nazareth. But St. Luke has told us of such a rejection; it was on occasion of this rejection that our Lord used—for the first time as it seems—the words about a prophet being without honour in his own "*patria*." And if we are right in thinking that Father Coleridge has hit the mark which so many commentators have missed, St. John, in his reference to these words of Jesus is in fact alluding to the rejection at Nazareth recorded by St. Luke; the purport of his allusion being to indicate that the account of that incident is to be placed at this point, or nearly at this point, of the history. It is as if he had written: "After two days Jesus passed into Galilee, when, on His arrival at Nazareth, He experienced that rebuff in reference to which—as the reader knows—He said that a prophet hath no honour in his own country." Nor indeed could a greater contrast be well imagined than between the reception of Jesus by the Samaritans as related by St. John, and His treatment by the Nazarenes as recorded by St. Luke.

In fact, however, the incident at Nazareth occurred, as we shall find St. John himself indicating, not precisely, but only approximately, at this stage of the history. We have indeed arrived at a point at which St. Matthew is supplemented by St. Luke, and St. Luke by St. John, each in turn suggesting the explanation of something left unexplained by his predecessor. St. Matthew tells us that:

When Jesus had heard that John was delivered up, He retired into Galilee. And leaving the city Nazareth, He came and dwelt in



Capharnaum on the sea-coast, in the confines of Zabulon and Nephthalim, that what was said by Isaias the Prophet might be fulfilled: The land of Zabulon and the land of Nephthalim. . . . Galilee of the Gentiles, the people that sat in darkness saw great light, and to them that sat in the region of the shadow of death light is sprung up (Matth. iv. 12-17).

The first Evangelist is, after his wont, concerned with showing at every point the fulfilment of prophecy. But he tells us nothing of the reason of the transference of our Lord's abode from Nazareth to Capharnaum. This omission St. Luke supplies. But St. Luke's narrative again contains an unexplained allusion. For he quotes our Lord as saying to the Nazarenes:

Doubtless you will say to Me this similitude: Physician, heal thyself; as great things as we have heard done in Capharnaum do also here in Thy own country (Luke iv. 23).

Now the Evangelist had made no mention of any previous visit to Capharnaum, or of any wonders wrought there. In this case it is St. John who supplies the explanation, for he tells us that our Blessed Lord on His return into Galilee went to Cana, whither "a certain ruler whose son was sick at Capharnaum . . . went to Him and prayed Him to come down and heal his son, for he was at the point of death;" but that Jesus, without yielding to the importunate entreaties of the afflicted father that He would "go down," nevertheless healed his son though at a distance (John iv. 46-54). It is true that St. John does not here record a visit to Capharnaum; but he does record a "wonder wrought at Capharnaum," enough by itself, if there were no others, to account for St. Luke's language. It is of course quite possible that our Lord did in fact visit Capharnaum at this time, and indeed, though we read that "when He was come into Galilee the Galileans received Him, having seen all the things He had done at Jerusalem on the festival day" (words which imply some considerable number of miracles which the other Evangelists have left unrecorded), it may perhaps be thought to have been more in accordance with His mode of action at this time that He should have prepared the minds of the Capharnaïtes for the course of teaching which He was soon to commence among them by miracles wrought in their own midst.

In consequence of the rejection at Nazareth, Jesus transferred His place of abode to the thriving town now marked only by the heap of ruins known as Tell Hum. It stood on the north-western shore of the Lake of Tiberias, some five miles from the ingress of the Jordan into the lake. If we may prefer St. Mark's order here to St. Matthew's, it would seem that it was on the way to Capharnaum that our Blessed Lord gave his first invitation

to Simon and Andrew, James and John, not merely to "come and see" where He dwelt, but to follow Him for some space of time, with the promise that they should become "fishers of men." On the very first Sabbath after their arrival,\* Jesus, who had "taught as one that had authority, and not as the Scribes," wrought a remarkable series of miracles. First, He delivered from his state of bondage "a man who had an unclean spirit," so that, as St. Mark tells us, "there came fear upon all, and they talked among themselves, saying: 'What thing is this, what is this new doctrine? For with authority He commandeth even the unclean spirits, and they obey Him.'"

In the second place, "immediately" on leaving the synagogue (Mark i. 29) He went with James and John into Simon's house, and healed Simon's mother-in-law of a fever ("a great fever," says the physician St. Luke); whereupon, as all the Synoptists agree in telling us, "immediately rising, she ministered to them."

And when it was evening, after sunset, they brought all to him that were diseased, and that were possessed with devils. And all the city was gathered together at the door. But He, laying His hands on every one of them, healed them. And devils went out of many, crying out and saying, "Thou art the Son of God." And He, rebuking them, suffered them not to speak, for they knew that He was Christ (Mark i. 32-34; Luke iv. 40-41).

In this graphic account of the incidents of that Sabbath evening at Capharnaum, it is St. Mark who tells us that "all the city was gathered together at the door;" while it is St. Luke who adds the trait, so characteristic of the tenderness of Jesus for individual souls, that He "laid His hands on every one of them." St. Matthew, on the other hand, writes that the cures were wrought, and the spirits cast out, in order "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet Isaias, saying, He took our infirmities, and bore our diseases" (Matt. viii. 17).

After recording thus in some detail the events of this single day, the three Evangelists summarize in a few lines the events of many months.

And he preached in their synagogues and in all Galilee, and cast out devils [says St. Mark]. And Jesus went about all Galilee [says St. Matthew] teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the Gospel of the kingdom, and healing all diseases and infirmities among the people. And his fame went throughout all Syria, and they brought to him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and such as were possessed by devils, and lunatics, and those that had the palsy, and he healed them. And great multitudes followed him from Galilee

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\* "Forthwith on the Sabbath day" (Mark i. 21).

and from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem, and from Judea, and from beyond the Jordan (Mark i. 39; Matth. iv. 23-25).

This description covers all the period which elapsed between the removal to Capernaum and the second Pasch. A few events, however, are recorded in the three earlier gospels which must be placed within this period. They are, the delivery of the Sermon on the Mount, the miraculous draught of fishes, the cleansing of a leper, and the healing of a paralytic, the call of St. Matthew, and the feast in St. Matthew's house. The Sermon on the Mount is of course given by the first Evangelist alone. St. Luke alone records the miraculous draught of fishes. The other incidents are related by all three Synoptists, in the same order, and with an amount of verbal agreement which can hardly be accounted for, except on the hypothesis of a common source, that—namely, of a traditional oral *catechesis*, older by far than the written gospels. Passing over, for the present, the Sermon on the Mount, to the elucidation of which Father Coleridge devotes nearly the whole of three volumes,\* a word may be said on each of the other events just referred to. The story of the miraculous draught of fishes affords a good instance of St. Luke's habit of often relating facts similar to, but not identical with, those recorded by his predecessors. Many commentators have regarded the calling of St. Peter and his companions, related in St. Luke's fifth chapter, as identical with the somewhat similar incident recorded in the fourth chapter of St. Matthew, and the first of St. Mark, and referred to above as "the first invitation to . . . become fishers of men." But, not to dwell on the omission by St. Matthew and St. Mark of any reference to a miraculous fishing, which is the chief negative difference between the two accounts, the minor circumstances of this pair of incidents show a positive contrast in several details which we may well believe, with Father Coleridge, that St. Luke particularized in order to mark the distinction between them.† In St. Matthew's account, Jesus is *walking* by the lake, apparently with no great company; in St. Luke's story He *stands*, pressed upon by the multitude eager to hear the word of God. St. Matthew tells us that Simon and Andrew were "*casting a net into the sea*," and that James and John were "*in a ship*, with Zebedee their father, *mending their nets*." St. Luke, on the other hand, says that "He saw two ships standing by the lake, but the fishermen *were gone out of them, and were washing their nets*." It is hard, not to say impossible, to imagine our Lord calling out His invitation to the four fishermen over the heads of a crowd: and the only way of making the two stories refer to the same fact

\* "The Public Life," vols. ii. iii. iv.

† "Life of Our Life," vol. i. p. 173.

would be to suppose that, when Jesus first saw the fishermen in their boats, He was making His way along the side of the lake; and that while He stood discoursing to the crowds who followed Him, the boats were brought to land, and the fishermen went out of them and began to wash their nets.

The miraculous draught of fishes recorded here by St. Luke is the first, as that recorded by St. John in the twenty-first chapter of his Gospel is the last, of a series of wonders wrought on the lake of Galilee; all of which, Father Coleridge observes, had a special symbolical relation to the future fortunes and to the constitution of the Christian Church and to the pre-eminent position therein of St. Peter and his successors.\* The two miracles which follow, the cleansing of the leper and the healing of the paralytic, are clearly connected with the doctrine of the sacramental forgiveness of sin.† The solemn command, "Go, show thyself to the *High Priest*," has been accepted by the unanimous voice of Christian tradition as symbolical of the ordinance of confession; while the healing of the paralytic was wrought expressly in confirmation of our Lord's assertion that He possessed the power of forgiving sins, a power which (using the very same terms) He so explicitly conferred on His Apostles after His resurrection. The story of this emphatic assertion of the power to forgive sins is followed with logical naturalness as well as in historical sequence by the call of St. Matthew from an employment which was held to be an all but necessary occasion of habitual sin;‡ and by the banquet in St. Matthew's house, which gave rise—perhaps for the first time—to the charge brought against our Lord of consorting familiarly with sinners, and thereby to our Lord's rejoinder: "They that are well have no need of a physician, but they that are sick. . . . I will have mercy, and not sacrifice. For I am not come to call the just, but sinners to penance" (Matt. ix. 12, 13).

It is at this point of the narrative of the Synoptists that we must insert St. John's account of what passed on the occasion of our Blessed Lord's visit to Jerusalem for the second of the great Paschal festivals which fell within the period of His public ministry. Here, as usual, St. John exercises his double function of developing those themes which he has chosen as his own special subject, and of supplementing his predecessors. The account of the miracle at the Probatic pool supplies just what is necessary for the right understanding of the incidents which in the Synoptic gospels follow immediately upon the feast at St. Matthew's house. St. Mark and St. Luke pass on without any break from their account

\* "The Public Life," vol. v. pp. 31, 32.

† *Ibid.* chap. iii. iv.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 94.

of this meal to the incident of the disciples plucking corn on the sabbath and to the indignation of the Pharisees at this supposed violation of sabbatical observance. Now this is the first mention which occurs in the earlier evangelists of objections raised against our Lord on this score. It is, however, difficult to understand how an occurrence so trivial in itself could really have been the first occasion of this cavil of the Pharisees that Jesus was a sabbath-breaker. Still less would such an incident account for what we read in the next section of St. Mark's and St. Luke's narrative—viz., that "they watched Him, whether he would heal on the sabbath days, that they might accuse Him" (Mark iii. 2). But St. John silently explains the whole matter for us. The first distinctively sabbatical miracle, the first miracle which gave occasion to the frivolous accusation of sabbath-breaking, and to our Lord's defence of His mode of action in this respect, was the miracle at the Probatic pool, when Jesus bade the impotent man take up his bed and walk. A very different matter, and one in all its circumstances far more calculated to attract attention than the act of chafing a few ears of corn on the way through the wheat-fields of Galilee. "Therefore," St. John pointedly observes, after recording the short dialogue between the Pharisees and the man whom they found carrying his bed—"therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, because He did these things on the sabbath" (v. 16).\*

Nor are there wanting other indications that Fr. Coleridge, with many other harmonists, has done well in placing the second Passover at this point of the Gospel history. The ripening ears of wheat belong to a time of year between the Passover—when the first fruits were offered—and Pentecost; and the *sabbatum secundo-primum* of St. Luke (vi. 1) not improbably indicates the Sabbath which followed the Paschal festival.

And here, for the present, we must leave Fr. Coleridge and the Gospel history which he has done so much to bring home in its fullest significance to his fellow Catholics in England, and, we may hope, in every English-speaking country.

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\* "The Public Life," pp. 182, 183.

## ART. IV.—CHURCH MUSIC AND CHURCH CHOIRS.

1. *Manual of Prayers for Congregational Use*. Version prescribed by the Cardinal Archbishop and Bishops of England. London : Thomas Richardson & Son.
2. *The History and Growth of Church Music*. By the Rev. ETHELRED L. TAUNTON. London : Burns & Oates.
3. *Manuale Cantorum (Manual of Sacred Chant)*. By the Rev. JOSEPH MOHR. Sixth Edition. Ratisbon : Frederick Pustet. 1885.
4. *The Words of the Introits, Graduals, Offertories, and Communions for Sundays and Festivals, adapted for Chanting according to the Eight Gregorian Tones*. London : Thomas Richardson & Son.
5. *Psalterium Vespertinum (The Vesper Psalter)*. The Text of the Psalms for Vespers and Compline, distributed over the Middle and Final Cadences of the Roman Psalm-Tones. By F. X. HABERL. Ratisbon : Frederick Pustet. 1886.
6. *A Grammar of Gregorian Music*. By the Most Rev. WILLIAM WALSH, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son.
7. *Magister Choralis*. A Theoretical and Practical Manual of Gregorian Chant, &c. By the Rev. FRANCIS XAVIER HABERL, Cathedral Choirmaster, Ratisbon. Translated and enlarged by the Right Rev. N. Donnelly, Bishop of Canea. Ratisbon : Frederick Pustet.
8. *Catholic Hymns, with Accompanying Tunes*. Being a Musical Edition of St. Dominic's Hymn Book. Edited by A. E. TOZER, Licentiate of the Royal Academy of Music, Fellow of the College of Organists, Licentiate in Music, Trinity College, London. London : Burns & Oates, Limited; and Novello, Ewer & Co.

THE future of Church music and Church choirs in England presents problems which may probably become before long of pressing importance, and even now call for some attempt at practical solution. A marked advance has been made in recent years in the direction of rendering the liturgical worship of the Church more stately and solemn, and of carrying out as fully as may be the rules by which her ritual, and the sacred song with which it is accompanied, are governed ; and side by side with this a movement in favour of vernacular devotions and what is called

"congregational singing" has rapidly gained ground. And this is not merely the offspring of individual energy, or of a passing ecclesiastical fashion; it is, on the contrary, due directly to the loyalty with which our bishops and clergy have sought to carry into effect the expressed will of the Holy See. Provincial Synods have declared that the Roman Church is to be the model for the Church in England in the service of the sanctuary, and from Rome has come a strong recommendation of the complete and official edition of the Choral Books issued by the Sacred Congregation of Rites; while the matter has been dealt with in more or less detail in various episcopal letters. At the same time a new sanction has been given to the movement in favour of "popular" devotions by the action of the present Pope in ordering the recitation of the Rosary in public churches on Sundays; and it has been within the last few months still further encouraged by the approval of the *Manual of Prayers for Congregational* use by the Bishops of England. It is not possible to note these things without being struck by the "practical wisdom" which at once emphasizes the distinctively Roman character of the worship of the Church and seeks to reach the sympathies of English hearts by recognizing what may be called the national habits of devotion. At the same time the carrying out of the programme which seems to be put before us by authority cannot be said to be devoid of difficulty. It must, indeed, make serious demands on the zeal and the resources of Catholics. Yet these are surely not greater than we can meet, as other and more serious demands have been met in the past, by prudent and patient perseverance.

Yet the task is not trivial. Financial difficulties stare us in the face on every side, and in many matters new demands are being added to those of past years. What is known as "the Leakage of the Church" must be dealt with, and the Education Question is perhaps more anxious than ever before. Added to this there are many among us, deficient neither in knowledge nor in zeal, who regard attempts to improve the music of our churches as almost hopeless. Efforts have been made, they say, and have borne little fruit. Popular taste is on the wrong side, and the task of opposing it is more than Herculean. There have been controversies, too, amongst those who are interested in the matter, and the result has been to create a kind of party spirit among numbers of people whose knowledge of Church music is founded on no broader basis than the dicta of some admired correspondent in a Catholic newspaper. When men who cannot read a line of Plain Chant declare themselves adherents of the Mechlin use on the score of its antiquity (as if it had been chained to the altar of St. Peter's by St. Gregory, instead of being some nineteen years old), and cry out against the "innovation" of the Ratisbon books,



it seems useless to reason with them, or even to point out that\* "it has now been authoritatively declared that the Gregorian Chant in that one form of it which alone is recognized by the Holy See, is an integral portion of the Roman Liturgy, so that the substitution for it of any form of so-called 'Gregorian' or 'liturgical' chant is, so far, inconsistent with a claim to be considered in liturgical uniformity with Rome." They will reply that Gregorian Chant is an anachronism, and produce some such authority as Father Taunton in favour of their view, "That the Church uses all the various kinds of music, and has made none of them (with the exception of the Plain Chant for the *Accentus*) more her own than another."† Of the learned exposition of the subject by Herr Haberl and Monsignor Donnelly, Bishop of Canea, they know nothing—not to speak of the views of great musicians.

All this has to be taken account of, and yet the position is not unpromising. There is ample material ready to our hands, both in the way of information, and men to turn it to account. How to use the men so as to popularize the information seems to be the task before lovers of the music of the Church; and in carrying this out they have the encouragement that they are promoting the wishes of the Holy Father and the Episcopate, as well as the obvious interests of Catholicism in this country. The two movements of which we have spoken are not antagonistic to each other, but either of them, if advanced to the neglect of the other, may be a source of danger. How, then, can the laity best aid the clergy in their efforts to give due proportion to each?

And here, as I have alluded to the existence of controversies about music, and even dared to specify the Ratisbon and Mechlin feud, I must in self-defence protest that I am no partisan. I belong to none of the three schools into which Father Taunton divides "the various writers who take part in these periodical encounters." I am not a "Plain Chantist"—that "kind of rabid musical teetotaller of the most advanced school" whom "nothing but Plain Chant will satisfy"; nor an "advocate of Plain Chant who condescends to human infirmity so far as to allow figured music in the Palestrina style, yet in whose nostrils Mozart and Haydn savour as an abomination"; nor yet one of "those who would exclude Plain Chant and Palestrina, and leave nothing but the modern school."‡ Least of all am I a disciple of the school of Father Taunton himself, for his position, as I shall presently try to show, seems to be hardly less "unreasonable and incon-

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\* "Grammar of Gregorian Music," Preface, p. v.

† "The History and Growth of Church Music," p. 104.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 107-9.

sistent" than those adopted by the controversialists for whose discomfiture "his pen has sometimes wantoned in a merry mood." In a word, the claims of Plain Chant and of the modern school will only now be considered so far as they practically concern the development of Church choirs and Church music in this country just at present.

But before entering further upon the subject of music, it will be well to consider whence our choirs are to be derived. Of the greater churches in towns it is not necessary to say much, for they will, as a rule, be served by paid choirs composed of professional singers; but in country and suburban churches this would be impossible, even if it were desirable. The clergy must therefore enlist the voluntary aid of the laity, and in truth this is not difficult to do. The relations between our priests and the devout men, old and young, of their congregations are close and kindly, and little persuasion from the former is required to induce the latter to take up some sort of active work in connection with the mission to which they belong. The priest of fiction would no doubt strictly limit their co-operation to the task of supplying ways and means, but the priest of real life is cheered and encouraged beyond measure when his men give their personal services at the altar or in the choir. It is not merely that he has need of them, for in town churches, where no such need exists, the priest is not less anxious to associate devout laymen with himself in some way or other. What is more common, for instance, in some well-staffed London church, than to see men in plain clothes serving Low Masses? To embody them in a voluntary choir in such cases might for many reasons be a mistake; for one thing, in a large church it seems fitting that our strength should be fully put forth, and that the music should be rendered as no body of amateurs could hope to render it, however painstaking they might be. In country and suburban missions it is otherwise, and voluntary choirs may there be formed with the best results.

Apart from the anxieties which often attend the employment of unpaid auxiliaries, it is probable that priests would prefer voluntary choirs taken from their own congregations to professional choirs, even though the latter were musically the more efficient. No doubt there are numbers of excellent and earnest Catholics in professional choirs, but creed and even personal character are not the principal qualifications considered by a choirmaster in the choice of his colleagues. What he rightly pays most attention to is the question whether they can sing, for they are hired to sing. Suppose then that a professional choir is supplanted, is it a pleasant thought for the celebrant at Mass that perhaps the majority of those who are singing the solemn music

of the Liturgy, arrayed in the livery of the Church of Christ, are in fact not believers in the Holy Sacrifice at which they assist as the representatives of the faithful—perhaps actual unbelievers, perhaps Jews? Such a reflection is shocking to the mind of any Catholic, devout or indevout; how much more to a priest! It is to the credit of Protestant Ritualists that they demur to admit to their sanctuaries any singer, however qualified, who is not a communicant. The test is, of course, an unreal one; indeed, it may often lead to what the Ritualist recognizes as sacrilege; but it is the only test that he knows of, or can venture to enforce. I do not say for a moment that such occurrences are common among Catholics, but that they are possible, in cases of this kind, is clear. Even if the choir is not on the sanctuary, are matters much mended? Surely the priest is happier in knowing that his choristers are hearing Mass devoutly behind their curtain in the organ chamber, or in the moribund west gallery, than in the fear that their surroundings are, to say the least, secular, however sweetly and solemnly they may sing. What presses strongly on the priest will, in a less measure, be felt by his flock. A competent choirmaster may endeavour to maintain due decorum among his subordinates, wherever they may be placed in the church; but choirmasters are themselves mortal, and although they may be omnipotent where musical matters are concerned, must at times feel it prudent not to be too keen-sighted. Conversation can hardly be forbidden absolutely: it is often a necessity during an important function. How can they tell when it is really required, and when it is not? How can they regulate the subjects discussed, with certainty? It is not an edifying thought that the tenor, whose reading of his impressive solo in the *Benedictus* has just moved the faithful to new fervour, may be beguiling the spare moments before he is wanted again for his part in the *Agnus Dei* in the perusal of the "prophecies" of the latest sporting paper.

How far such scandals may exist we need not pause to inquire: for our present purpose it is enough to point out that their occurrence, under such circumstances, need not be any matter for marvel. It is, however, only just to add that, as far as my experience goes, Protestant singers are often deserving of praise for the reverence which they show in outward demeanour for Catholic rites into the spirit of which they cannot be expected to enter. But how different is the case of a voluntary choir drawn from the ranks of a devout Catholic congregation. Leaving out of sight for a moment the gain to the people assisting at High Mass, and the consolation to the celebrant, what can be better for the laity themselves than to enlist in such an organi-

zation ? To serve in the sanctuary in such a way gives a young man an interest in everything connected with his religion which he cannot easily acquire so well otherwise. He has a new incentive to regularity in church-going ; he will not merely fulfil the obligation of hearing Mass on Sunday, which may be done in less than an hour, but will give up the best part of the day to devotion, as the Church intends ; and he will sacrifice one evening in the week for the good cause, if the music is properly rehearsed. What can be better for a Catholic young man than this ? Pious parents are always pleased to see their sons on the altar at Mass, knowing well what such close connection with the clergy in their sacred ministrations is likely to lead to. But all the young men in a congregation cannot well be servers, and at High Mass a crowd of grown-up people on the sanctuary is not an effective spectacle. What then is to become of our lads when they have outgrown the altar-boy stage ? Are they to be turned out of the sanctuary just at the age when, by hook or by crook, they ought to be kept in the closest relations with the priest ? There may not be room for them any longer on the altar as servers or assistants, but in a surpliced sanctuary choir there is practically room for every one who is qualified to enter it. Moreover, these duties must not be left to the young men alone : if we wish our sons to take pride in keeping their places on the sanctuary, we must ourselves show them that it is our pride to be there. Nothing can be easier. Many good works can only be undertaken by men who have time to spare during the week : the busiest of business men can give his services in a church choir, if only his Sundays and one evening hour in the week are at his disposal.

Voluntary choirs have the further advantage that they are more workable than paid choirs. Persons who have not had experience of both systems may be inclined to assume that the reverse is the case, but a little consideration will lead them to see that their view is not unassailable. They may urge that obedience may be exacted from salaried servants to an extent that would not be possible where volunteers are concerned ; that the priest is, so to speak, at the mercy of his choir unless he can control them by means of the purse-strings ; and that the real direction of the services of the Church will be in the hands, not of the clergy, but of the musical members of the congregation if voluntary aid be wholly relied on. Going on to consider the question as one of finance, they may argue that a paid choir is not really a burden to the funds of the mission so much as a source of revenue ; that good music attracts a cultured congregation ; that such a congregation will pay liberally for what they appreciate ; and that in some notable instances the resources of

poor and populous parishes are largely derived from non-parishioners who are drawn to the churches by the beauty and stateliness of the functions to be found therein. For this view a good deal may be said, but the argument will not apply as a rule, and there is not a single contention in it which can be accepted without limitations. Congregations that can afford to pay for first-rate music must be the exception, and when they are got together, in the manner suggested, it must be at the expense of the ecclesiastical districts from which their members wander in search of something not to be found at home. What, then becomes of their own churches, and how will such a system work when sufficient church accommodation is provided throughout the country? Of the argument that "people should attend their own parish churches" nothing need be said—except perhaps that it is too readily regarded as axiomatic, and that it will be time enough to talk about it when parishes and parish churches become more common in this country than they are at present. But every one will admit that a system must be faulty which leaves one church practically without support while another has ample means at command, the circumstances of the residents in each district being all the while equal. Reasons there may be why such a state of things should here and there arise, but no Catholic would contend that this should be the normal condition of affairs. But granting the position for the moment, is the priest whose choir supports him more free than the priest who relies on the personal aid of his own people? Is he not rather at the mercy of his paid choir? The question becomes a commercial one. If the choir pleases them, the people from outside pay: let it become for any cause less attractive, they do not pay. They have no duty to the priest who is not their own priest; they feel no obligation to support his expensive services when once they cease to care for what is so costly. In a word the attractive professional choir becomes a kind of speculation, and if this be so, the position of the priest is not independent or even dignified. Of course I do not insinuate that any priest would knowingly place himself in such a position, or that his bishop would permit him to do so if from want of experience he were in danger of making such a false step. I only seek to point out the fallacy of an argument which is sometimes used, without due thought, by laymen whose secular surroundings lead them to regard everything as governed by a hard-and-fast rule of demand and supply.

In one sense a priest is at the mercy of a voluntary choir, but it is only in the same sense that every priest who has not large private means is at the mercy of his people, and that involves no sacrifice of his independence. On the contrary, no minister of religion is so completely independent as the Catholic priest who

has to rely entirely for his support on what his people choose to give him. The more baldly this is stated the more satisfactory will the position of our clergy appear. Contrast this with what may be seen among the sects. It is not too much to say that the Protestant minister, apart from the protection which a well-filled purse may afford, is a slave to his flock. Let him preach unpopular doctrine, or adopt a mode of conducting his services which does not commend itself to his people, and straightway the pews will no longer be let, or the collections will dwindle down. The case of Dissenting ministers is so notorious that it is hardly necessary to refer to it; but it is perhaps worth while to point out that the clergy of the Established Church are not much better off than their Nonconformist neighbours. The Anglican layman chooses his own church, if a choice is possible in the place where he resides, and supports it just so long as he approves of the preaching and the practices of his parson—but no longer. Seeing that the voluntary principle enters nowadays very largely into the Anglican system, clergymen are compelled to be cautious about going counter to the crotchets of their supporters; and seeing that such ceremonial as the High Church party accounts “Catholic” is from first to last illegal, and can only be carried out with the connivance of churchwardens and congregations, the minister must content himself with going just as far as his flock will allow him to go, and no farther. Let him believe himself to be a “priest,” and therefore bound to teach the High Church doctrine of Confession, and to stand before the Communion Table when celebrating the Lord’s Supper; there may be circumstances in which he would empty his church and cut off the supplies hopelessly if he followed his conscience. How different is the dependence of the Catholic priest in its character! His church has been wholly built by his people, every adjunct of divine worship is supplied by them, his daily bread comes from their voluntary contributions, and yet he is as free as air. It may be that now and again some busybody may offer him advice on subjects that concern the bishop rather than a member of the flock—some men are born vestrymen, and the possession of the Catholic faith does not of necessity guarantee good taste—but any one who acted in this way would receive little sympathy from the congregation. Catholics look to their pastors for guidance, and it is in their eyes a privilege as well as a duty to support them in all that they do. Even where individual laymen may not agree with the policy of their priest, in such a minor matter, for example, as the music of the church, it would never enter into their minds to coerce him by cutting off or curtailing the supplies. The very dependence of the priest upon the people in material matters puts the latter, as it were, upon their honour not to



attempt any unworthy coercion of one whose office it is to lead, not to be led by his flock.

This principle applies with considerable force to the choir question. A priest is largely in the hands of a paid choir: with a voluntary choir he is much more independent. The former can only be counted upon to do just what they are paid for doing, indeed it is hardly fair to ask more of them. They are engaged, say, to sing at High Mass and Vespers on Sundays and Holidays of Obligation. Can they be reasonably expected to do anything beyond this? If there is occasion for some special week-day service, if there is a parochial mission, or a Requiem Mass to be sung, of what use is a professional choir? For special work they will require special remuneration, and more than this they will not sing any kind of music except that to which they are accustomed. At a mission they cannot be expected to come together night after night and sing popular hymns and litanies: the encroachment on their time would be serious, and they have a musical reputation to lose. Besides they care nothing for these things in their corporate capacity: the priest is their employer, they must fulfil what he pays them to fulfil, and there the matter ends. The voluntary choir, on the other hand, is presumably composed of the more earnest and devout members of the congregation. To them the mission and its interests are everything. The priest is their pastor, and all that he does is done for them and those who belong to them. To help him in carrying out whatever he undertakes is their pleasure; his success is their pride, and his failure their disgrace. A parochial mission is as much their concern as that of the crowds that throng the church; it is for them and for their families and friends. They will gladly sing a Requiem, if they can, without thought of remuneration, for the poorest member of the flock whose piety in life has gained their respect and admiration. In fact, the priest who relies on a voluntary choir relies on his people, and may with confidence count on them to stand by him all the more loyally because they are bound to him by the tie not of professional advantage but of honour.

And this seems to be the place to suggest that the organization of the choir should be *completely* voluntary. It may not always be possible, but when it is possible it is a decided advantage that the organist and choirmaster should, like his colleagues, be a volunteer. The main difficulty in making an amateur choir efficient is to be found in the fact that its members cannot attend regularly without giving up engagements which it would be pleasant to make, from time to time, both on Sundays and week days; and when the choirmaster is in the same position as they are in this respect his hold upon them is greatly strengthened. If



he is a paid official of the church, this is otherwise: he must be there, the singers reflect, but their presence at all times is not necessary in the same way. Even the volunteer choirmaster has to encounter this difficulty, for individual choirmen think humbly of their own importance when a holiday is in question. The presence of the leader, especially if he be also the organist, is of course essential: that of one singer more or less cannot matter so much. Again, it is a good thing that the expenses of the choir should not form part of the burdens of the mission. When the members are not only volunteers trained by a volunteer, but also responsible among themselves for the purchase of music and the like, the spirit of self-reliance and the *esprit de corps* which are so useful in all voluntary associations are immensely strengthened. However, it must often be impossible to carry the voluntary system so far as this, and the organist will in most cases perhaps be unable to give his services gratuitously. If a paid organist be a necessity, it will be well to give the office to the schoolmaster of the mission if he is competent. For many reasons he will be the best man for the place, and will in his turn reap considerable advantage from the appointment. He will be useful to the choir, owing to the position in which he stands to the boys who are attending his school and to their parents, and on the other hand, his connection with the choir, if he be a good musician and a sensible man, will bring him into pleasant relations with the congregation, and the schools will not suffer in consequence. Added to this, it will be financially an excellent plan. We are all anxious to give our schoolmasters adequate remuneration for their work, and to make their position as comfortable as we can. Why not add the salary of organist to that of schoolmaster, instead of employing one more scantily paid official? This will give the schoolmaster congenial Sunday employment, and help to remove a real or fancied grievance under which at present he is somewhat inclined to groan. It will also take from him, if he be in a town, the temptation which must at times come strongly upon him to forsake his own church on Sundays in order to add to his income by playing or singing elsewhere—and this a master who is really interested in the mission with which he is connected would usually not like to do. Again the possibility of such employment will be an encouragement to students at the training college to make the most of their opportunities for perfecting their knowledge of music, and from this both church and school will benefit afterwards, while the student is preparing an excellent resource for himself in the somewhat lonely life that lies before him.

So much for the constitution of the choir. But here we may be met with the very serious objection that in many missions

there are not enough men and boys who can sing to warrant the attempt to form a voluntary choir, and most of all a surpliced choir. This deserves to be fairly considered, but it must be said at once that much of the difficulty will disappear if only we are not too ambitious—or, rather, if only we are ambitious enough—in our choice of music. What is suggested is no untried experiment. It may not be common in our country missions to attempt all that we would wish, but we could probably do more than is often actually done, for it is done with success elsewhere. It is no use to retort, when difficulties are urged, that Anglicans have solved the choir question, and that Catholics ought therefore to be able to do so. We may hear too much of the Ritualists and their supposed successes, and it is at times not easy to help thinking that some converts are as much *laudatores temporis acti* as others are unable to see any good in their old friends, and that hereditary Catholics are moved to a generous appreciation of Protestant improvement partly by an unconscious wonder that grapes should seem for once to be gathered of thorns and figs of thistles. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*—who can forget that, when we are so constantly reminded of it, in season and out of season? But perhaps another axiom applies better to this case—*omne ignotum pro magnifico*. As a matter of fact, we must seek our examples elsewhere than in Anglicanism, for the case of Anglican choirs is very different from that of our own. The popular services of the Ritualists are the exception in the Establishment, not the rule, and the more successful churches are always supported to a great extent, both with men and money, from other parishes. The existence of endowments prevents this from pressing heavily on the pastors of these wandering sheep, and the forsaken and half empty churches can often get on quite comfortably as regards finance. In towns the parson has a large middle-class congregation to draw on, and in the country his position secures for him the support and sympathy of the squire and the farmers, and therefore the adhesion of the labourers and their sons. The priest, on the other hand, has a comparatively small congregation, taken in many instances from the very poor, of Irish extraction; and Irishmen preserve in their exile that love of silent worship which is characteristic of them in their own country without reference to creed. Again, it is true that Ritualists have done wonders in the way of putting some sort of life into the “dry bones” of the mutilated offices which the law binds them to use; but when all is said and done, their service is, from a Catholic point of view, a sorry affair, and most of their choirs would find themselves in serious straits if they were called upon to sing at Mass or Vespers. Our *minimum* of liturgical music is their *maximum*, and they

are beset by none of the embarrassments which a small Catholic choir has to meet. In the Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper, which Anglicans affectedly call, in private, the "Mass," there is no Proper; and even in advanced churches English hymns do duty for Introit, Gradual, Tract, Sequence, Offertory, and Communion. At Evensong there are no Antiphons to add to the cares of cantors, and when at times Antiphons are illegally introduced they are sung to a simple chant. An Anglican choir which has mastered the eight Gregorian tones, and, say, a dozen hymn tunes from *Hymns Ancient and Modern* is fully equipped for the performance of functions which will sadden the heart of the bishop, incline the churchwardens to kick over the traces, and gain for the incumbent the reputation of having "thoroughly Catholic" services. A "Choral Celebration"—that is High Mass "in masquerade"—includes the *Credo*, the *Sanctus*, and the *Gloria*, in English, and also the *Benedictus* and *Agnus Dei* (unless the place of the two latter is supplied by hymns), but except in the leading churches this function is not of weekly occurrence, and Merbeck's setting of the Communion Office, eked out with an adaptation of the *Missa de Angelis*, will complete a capital *répertoire*. Now contrast with this the *minimum* expected of a Catholic choir. We cannot read the Psalms at Vespers when it is inconvenient to sing them; we cannot "fake up" music for Mass with the aid of vernacular hymns; we will sing the Mass every Sunday, not once a month, and at Easter, and Christmas, and Whitsuntide, and therefore must have some variety in our music. In a word, while the parson is held back by influences of all kinds from soaring to the level which has been described, the priest would disband his choir sooner than descend to it.

Nor must we apply the argument from Anglican example in another direction, and conclude that if, with all their resources, Ritualists can achieve so little, Catholics with their scantier means and smaller numbers can only hope to accomplish even less. Ritualists, it must be remembered, have no tradition; they have been for the last few years trying experiments; they have been seeking to acclimatize a foreign system of which their knowledge is, at best, very slight. To their circumstances and our own there is really nothing at all in common. Let us, therefore, be glad that they lead men to see that there is something in Catholicism worth copying, and leave them to their task. For us a better example is to be found in the customs of our fellow Catholics in France and Belgium, where country choirs contrive to sing Mass and Vespers regularly and correctly, often without the aid of any instrument. Tourists whose recollections of church music in these countries are connected with chance visits to un-

distinguished town churches on week-days, where they have heard the music of Benediction bawled by a single bass of portentous power, may not consider the example a fortunate one for selection; and even the Chapter Mass in some provincial cathedral is hardly what we should seek to set up as our model for English missions. But in spite of this, the customs of the country churches are worth considering, because in them the voluntary choir system may be seen in excellent working order. What can be more edifying than to hear the peasants in some secluded village in the Ardennes sing their Sunday Mass from the *Graduale*, Proper and all, roughly it may be, but with unfailing accuracy, and with a degree of spirit that is often absent from the performances of more pretentious choirs? The same singers, too, know the Antiphons at Vespers almost by heart, and, added to this, can give all the life that any advocate of congregational singing can desire to their vernacular hymns, at some popular evening service. No better ideal can well be set before our voluntary choirs than that of these country choristers, and it is one that we could realize far better than they do. We may not wish to use Plain Chant exclusively, but surely it ought to be the foundation of our Church music.

This may seem a bold suggestion, in face of the fact that a dislike of Plain Chant in this country is as wide-spread as it is sincere; but it is made with full appreciation of the fact. Catholic day schools for the upper and middle classes are not common among us, and our educated laity have, as a rule, been trained in colleges where great facilities for an intelligent study of Church Song must surely exist. Yet it is rarely to be heard in our public churches except in the recitation of the Psalms at Vespers. On the other hand, Protestants have eagerly adopted it. Clergymen who from their infancy have been trained in far different traditions make it almost an article of faith that Plain Chant shall be, as far as possible, used in their churches, and risk the wrath of the squire, and the reputation of disloyalty to the Church of England, in order to bring this about. And yet, if they have been at Oxford or Cambridge they have heard the attractive Anglican system of psalmody in perfection. Nothing better of its kind is to be found anywhere than the chanting at Magdalen College and at New College, Oxford, and at King's College, Cambridge; and even at Trinity College, Dublin, where Puritanism reigns undisturbed, the singing is, or until lately was superb. Why Catholics should care so little for what is theirs by right and by inheritance, while non-Catholics are irresistibly attracted to it, rather than to their own beautiful figured music, is strange. Perhaps the contrast between the chanting in our college chapels and the perfunctory scramble which occurs when a professional choir condescends to sing Plain Chant at all, is too much for the

sensibilities of our clergy and cultured laity. But let that pass. It is more to the point just now to inquire what claim the Ecclesiastical Chant has upon us for its own sake, and apart from the sanctions with which it comes to us; and its adoption will, in the present instance, be urged only on practical grounds.

Popular superstitions on the subject of Plain Chant are as the sand that is upon the sea-shore for multitude, but none among them is more marvellous than the idea that it is difficult. Indeed, the real crux for choirmasters is to persuade their men to practise it. Singers, of whom better things might be expected, will have it that what is easily read need not be rehearsed, and it may well be that Plain Chant has got its bad name in consequence. But, putting prejudice aside, is it not obvious that it is easier to sing in unison than in harmony, if the melody be well within the compass of the various voices? In teaching Plain Chant the choirmaster is saved the weary work of plodding through one part after another, with imperfectly trained musicians, which must be undergone before a harmonized Mass can be learned; the men themselves have not to waste time while the parts are being drummed into the heads—first of the sopranos, then of the altos, then of the tenors, and then of the basses; and on Sunday the congregation are spared the excruciating sequel when, for example, some over-taxed tenor grows tired and nervous, and wails out a part of his own arrangement, almost in a different key from that in which the organist is playing. There are numbers of men whose knowledge of music is too slender to enable them to take a part in figured masses, but who, all the while, have fair voices and a correct ear; and these can sing creditably in unison. Under a leader who knows his work such men may sing Plain Chant with spirit and swing: no leader could carry them through a harmonized Mass. Again, it is often remarked that few of our laymen enter church choirs, and that the singing is too commonly left to ladies or little boys, while in Ritualistic churches men of all classes are forthcoming when required. How is this? It is certainly not because Catholics have less interest in public worship than Protestants. Yet a priest may appeal from the altar for volunteers, and receive no response, though he knows that numbers of men, young and old, sing lustily in the congregation at Benediction. The conclusion to which experience points is that these men do not come forward because they know themselves to be unfitted for a choirman's work, as they understand it. They cannot sing a bass or tenor part, but if Plain Chant were used at Mass, numbers of voices might be utilized which are otherwise lost to the service of the Church.

Plain Chant, then, is easy to learn, but besides, it is excellent training for a singer. So at least thinks so competent a judge

as Herr Haberl, the celebrated *Domkapellmeister* of Ratisbon, who begins the musical education of his choir-boys with the Chant. An ill-taught tenor, no doubt, will tell a different tale, and, perhaps, lament that his voice is worn out in "grinding away at that hateful Gregorian." But why does he "grind?" That is certainly no part of the programme. If he knew the alphabet of his art he would be ashamed to make such a confession. Competent teachers of vocalization, unless I am much mistaken, bid their pupils to practise their middle notes, taking care to produce them correctly, in order that by the process strength may gradually be gained in those upper notes which are the tenor's glory. Let the tenor force his middle notes and he will very soon have no high notes at all. But if his production is faulty, and his voice suffers in consequence, let him lay the blame where it is due, and not on the Gregorian Chant which he might have made use of as an improving exercise. The vanity of an ill-trained tenor, however, is only equalled by that of the peacock; he is never happy except when he is showing off, and in Plain Chant "high B flats" are not of common occurrence, however the melody may be transposed. The tenor is accustomed to be heard, and in unison singing his voice is comparatively unheard among the heavier baritones. Then he forces his middle notes. *Hinc illae lachrymae.* Tenors, however, are not the only offenders. What choirmaster cannot tell how his *basso profundo* will stand a little apart when the Proper of the Mass is being rehearsed, silent, yet not sulky, with an indulgent half-smile upon his bearded countenance, as who should say, "*I reserve myself for better things*"? Ask him some evening whether he has a cold, and then his chance comes. "Well, you see," he begins slowly, with an air suggestive of the pride that apes humility—"well, you see, I have a very deep voice." It is the tenor's tale turned upside down. The *basso profundo* is only happy when he is down in the depths. If he would but go to the opera with a score, supposing that he knew how to follow it, he would learn that real basses, as Shakespeare hath it, "can sing both high and low." But no! He closes his middle notes, and when his throat is sore, in consequence, lays it all at the door of "that horrid Gregorian." The great point is to persuade tenors and basses alike that common ground does exist, on which both may display their powers without injury to their voices; but no one forgets that consideration is due to them. For instance, in his admirable translation of Herr Haberl's *Magister Choralis*, Bishop Donnelly says, on this point:

A clear understanding should exist between the organist and choirmaster as regards the pitch of each piece. As high and low voices



unite to sing Plain Chant, the pitch should be so regulated, *i.e.* transposed, as that the entire piece can be sung by all with equal power and without any extraordinary effort. The division of the choir into two sections, such as Chanters and Full Choir, or Boys and Men, or upper (soprano and tenor) voices and under (alto and bass) voices, so that the several periods of the melody may be sung alternately, and occasional emphatic passages be delivered by all united, varies the Chant and renders it easy and animated, whilst it obviates many difficulties which, in the continuous chant of a piece by the full choir are unavoidable.\*

But suppose *per impossibile* that in our newly formed voluntary choir we have no lofty tenor and no tremendous bass, we can do very well without them, at first. They are of course not to be despised, and if they can be secured will do great things for us as we go on. But we must not, and need not count on them. In this country the prevailing voice among men is neither tenor nor bass, but baritone of a rather light *timbre*. Now voices of this kind are of little value in music arranged for mixed voices; they are too low, or else too full, for the tenor part, and hardly heavy enough for the bass. In Masses for men's voices only they are more useful, and can be turned to good account in the second tenor and first bass parts; and in Plain Chant they are just what is wanted. Their strength lies in the middle notes, and if their owners can but be taught to sing with a pure tone and not affect a nasal twang the result will be excellent. It may be observed that nasal singing is not proper to Plain Chant. It is heard often enough, no doubt, in France, but that is partly due to the exceedingly national pronunciation of Latin which is customary there, and partly to the fact that French choirs, like other choirs, are not always composed of trained vocalists. But as Plain Chant calls into use only the middle notes of the voice, there ought to be less danger here of a forced or nasal tone than in music where the higher or lower notes are constantly required. What is to be aimed at is just the reverse of "grinding:" the Chant should be rolled out with a good round tone, cheerily and fluently; and the singer should be taught to bear in mind that the voice carries best when it is *not* forced. Tone, and not noise, is what really tells in any large building. The accomplished singer or speaker can be easily heard in a church, even when his voice is subdued to a whisper: shouting may wake the echoes, but not a word that is said or sung will be heard. Twenty years ago I heard a lately appointed prebendary preach his first official sermon in an Anglican cathedral. The only words which I distinguished from the mass of unmusical eloquence which was

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\* "Magister Choralis," pp. 248-9.



poured upon me from the pulpit were these: "Like the barking of a chained dog." What was like this I do not know, but the phrase was not to be forgotten as a description of the preacher's own vocalization—and that of all who follow in his footsteps "in choirs and places where they sing."

Another advantage in using Plain Chant as the foundation of the choir *répertoire* is that it prevents the choirmen from feeling their duties in church a burden, and renders both choirmaster and priest independent of individual singers. That the priest is independent when supported by a voluntary choir has been shown already, and this is no doubt the rule; but all rules have their exceptions and the best machinery has sometimes its hitches. The most good-natured and excellent of men at times lose their tempers and forget their manners; and musical gifts are not uncommonly accompanied by a nervous temperament which is not at all moments under complete control. Moreover, circumstances may arise which may render it regrettable that this or that singer should appear in the sanctuary. In such emergencies the priest must be in a position to act with freedom, and so also must the choirmaster. Directly the priest ceases to be master of the choirmaster, and the choirmaster ceases to be master of the choir, the position becomes intolerable. No choirman, therefore, should be able to consider himself a necessity to the choir. Even if cases of extreme difficulty do not arise, this rule should be carefully observed. Let the machinery work ever so smoothly, no individual should be indispensable: it is bad for him, bad for the choir, bad for the priest. Yet such contingencies may easily arise in any small choir where harmonized music alone is in use. Under the most favourable circumstances, moreover, every member of a voluntary choir cannot be expected to attend every service all the year round. Busy men must have their free days now and then, and it is often necessary for them to take advantage of the public holidays, if they are to get any vacation at all; so that in point of fact voluntary choirs are not unfrequently weaker at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide than at other times. This is a serious matter if their efficiency depends on the presence of one or two individual members. But no choir which can fall back upon Plain Chant Masses is likely to get into grave difficulties, for it may be safely assumed that *all* its members will not be absent at the same time, even though they cannot all contrive to be always present. Nor will the presence of boys in the choir get over this difficulty, for nothing is so dreadful as to hear the soprano part of a harmonized Mass sung without the other three parts, or at least two of them. Tenors and basses are, after all, just as necessary to a choir of mixed voices as to a choir where men's voices alone are in use.

The subject is not easy to exhaust, but it will suffice to allude to only two more trials from which the use of Plain Chant protects us. Of all the sorrows of a choirmaster, that which soloists bring upon him is the most harrowing. Solos are not in themselves to be abhorred, so long as they are well sung, and so long as there are not too many of them: a solo at the offertory, for instance, gives pleasant variety to the service, and there is usually time for it after the *Offertorium* has been sung. But if florid Masses only are in vogue, solo-singers become very great men indeed, and endless jealousies arise in consequence. There are numbers of capital chorus-singers who are quite unfit to sing solos, and if they are true musicians, they ought to be fully aware of the fact; but even though they are sensible men, their friends and families may overrate their powers, and persuade them that they are not valued as they should be. These good people do not realize that the soloist is, perhaps, borne with by the choirmaster, because his voice is agreeable, although he is a poor reader, and that the chorus-singer is valuable because he reads music well, and sings steadily, in spite of a poor voice. Now, where Plain Chant is duly appreciated, solo-singing is at a discount, and soloists are easily kept in their proper place. Again, surpliced choirs are sometimes a difficulty, because of the self-consciousness which seems inevitable in cases where amateur vocalists have to perform music in which solos, trios, and quartets frequently occur. Human nature is particularly sensitive on the subject of the voice, and men who are otherwise humble, are childishly vain where their own singing is in question. Let any one who has not thought of this amuse himself by watching some amateur soloist whose training has been inconsiderable, and he will be struck by the pitiable self-conceit which appears in his every gesture, to say nothing of the unhappy man's expressive countenance. In trained singers this does not appear, for even if they feel as do their less instructed brethren, they have long since been taught by a course of judicious snubbing, or cheery "chaff," not to carry their hearts upon their sleeves. A well-known Irish singing-master was wont, so goes the story, when some ambitious pupil was in the act of producing a high note with great expression of voice and attitude, but alas! not according to knowledge, to revolve slowly on his music-stool so as to face the offender, and observe cheerfully, "Now that's what we call the *street* tone: that is produced by raising or depressing the head, according as you are singing high or low!" Even the late Mr. William Newton, the accomplished author of the "*Anglo-Italian Elements of Singing*"—a work of its kind without a rival, but now unhappily out of print—could not let his courtesy overcome his conscience in such circumstances. "Ah!" he

would say, gently, as if to himself, but without looking round, "chin in the air, I am afraid;" and the tone of the rebuke sank deep into the culprit's memory. But men who have not been subjected to such wholesome influences do odd things without knowing it, and attitudes which pass muster in a concert room, where the audience is indulgent to amateur efforts, will not do on the sanctuary. Hence one obstacle to the formation of a surpliced choir is that solo singers are sometimes more pleasant to hear than to behold, when in the act of producing an "effect;" and this is avoided when Plain Chant is the foundation of the *répertoire*.

From one point of view, Plain Chant, used in this way, is not merely desirable but almost a necessity. It is the custom in many of our churches nowadays to omit the Proper of the Mass altogether, unless when, on rare occasions, the words of some Sequence or Offertory have been set to figured music. Even then strange things are done, which seem to show that, as a rule, the importance of singing the Proper of the day is not in the mind of those who select the music. Thus, Easter is hardly Easter to many choirs unless Webbe's *Hæc Dies* is sung at the offertory on Easter Sunday, when all the while the words are those of the Gradual for that day. Mr. Santley's delightful setting of the *Christus factus est*, &c., to the representative theme of Gounod's *Redemption*, cannot have been intended for use where the words occur in the Mass for Maundy Thursday; for even if this sacred song were suitable for use as a Gradual, it cannot be sung without accompaniment. But without multiplying instances, it is enough to point out that we have no harmonized setting of the Proper as a whole, and in these circumstances it is surely obvious that we ought to have recourse to the *Graduale Romanum* at least for this portion of the Mass. What is done usually is to leave the Proper out bodily. If it were even said by the singers, or some of them, during an organ interlude, the case would be very different; but even then it would seem strange to make a practice of repeating *sub organo* what has an authorized setting in the Choral Books of the Church. It would not, however, be difficult to find Catholic choristers, and even organists, who have never heard the Proper sung in their lives. Now it is not clear on what principle this omission is made in churches where the Mass is supposed to be sung: where the practice exists of having music at a Low Mass—which is, or used to be, more common in Ireland than in this country—there may be some excuse for it. But if we can sing the Mass, why omit the *Introit*, or the *Communio* any more than the *Gloria*? I am reluctant to venture on the dangerous ground of the Decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, especially when dealing with Church music and Church

choirs from a purely practical point of view ; but there is a Decision on this subject, which was lately put within reach of every choirmaster, and may therefore well be quoted in this connection. The Bishop of Luçon, in France, submitted a *Dubium* to the Congregation, of which the following is a translation :—

Almost throughout the entire diocese of Luçon there is a custom of singing Masses, which may be asked for by several of the faithful on week days, the choir omitting the *Gloria* and Gradual or Tract, as also the Sequence or *Credo*, should they happen to be prescribed. The reason of this practice is that but one singer could, with difficulty, go through all the chants of the Mass, and the people would complain, especially on working days, of the length of the function. It is now asked if this method of singing Masses may be continued, or is such a custom to be abolished as an abuse ?

To this the Sacred Congregation replied : “ The custom referred to in the case submitted is to be totally abolished as an abuse.” \* Now it is not for me to say how far this Decision is binding on English choirs, but it is at least obvious that what they commonly do on Sundays, without extenuating circumstances in their favour, has been explicitly condemned “ as an abuse ” which must be “ totally abolished ” in a case where something was to be said for the omission on practical grounds. The nature of the excuses which the Congregation refused to admit is also worth notice. Even in English churches where the Proper is attempted, it is not uncommon to omit parts of it in order to save time. Sometimes the Sequence is curtailed, but usually it is the *Communio* that is left out entirely. “ We must not keep the priest waiting,” says the considerate choirmaster, at the conclusion of a lengthy *Agnus Dei*. But a priest, who has patiently sat out a *Gloria* and *Credo* of Haydn or Mozart, or even of the popular but prolix Van Bree, will hardly complain of waiting one more minute and a half in order that the *Communio* may be sung. If he does, the remedy is simple. “ Cut ” the *Agnus Dei* if it is very long, or choose a shorter setting. On the grounds put forward we might omit the *Gloria*, or half of it ; and if it be urged that no one would think of doing such a thing, the answer is ready to hand that in the Diocese of Luçon it was the custom to omit “ *Gloria* and Gradual or Tract, as also the Sequence or *Credo*, should they happen to be prescribed,” not lest the celebrant should be kept waiting but to save the time of the people. It is obvious that the Sacred Congregation thought this fancy of the faithful no reason for tolerating an “ abuse ”—it was only a fancy, for the omitted “ chants of the

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\* *Lyra Ecclesiastica*, March 1886.

Mass" could not have taken long to go through—and Father Taunton might well consider this view of the matter before urging against the exclusive use of the only Mass-music authorized by the Church that "it does not do for our people." If once such a principle were admitted, how much of our sacred music would be left to us? But the truth is that the people like what they are taught to like, and what they think is right. If their customs led them to believe that Plain Chant was distinctively Roman Catholic music, and they were used to connect it with the sacred words of the Mass, they would resent the introduction of any other music as they would resent the idea of saying Mass in English. But be this as it may, the fact remains that where Plain Chant is excluded, the Proper of the Mass is a dead letter to the people; and that the omission of the Proper is due to the popular dislike of Plain Chant—for where Plain Chant is in favour the Proper of the Mass is sung as regularly as the *Gloria* or the *Credo*.

This brings us back to Father Taunton's little book; for it is probably due to such incautious criticism as it contains that an unreasoning prejudice against Plain Chant is still strong among us. The writer is doubtless too good a musician to make open war upon a system which has been held in evident esteem by some of the greatest composers: indeed, he tells us that "as a lover of Plain Chant, who has spent years in its careful study," he earnestly wishes "its study to be promoted, and its proper place vindicated."\* Yet from beginning to end of the "History and Growth of Church Music," he seems to mention the Chant only to disparage it as much as is possible without actually attacking the Liturgical Books; and if he stops short of this it is only because he is happily inconsistent. He acknowledges that the Church has made Plain Chant her own for the *Accentus*—that is for "those portions of the Ritual Song chanted or intoned by the officiating priest, the deacon, sub-deacon, or other sacred ministers at the altar."† But in the case of the *Concentus*—that is "all that should be sung by the assistants or by a special trained choir"—Plain Chant is in Father Taunton's view an anachronism.‡ Now, if he had sought to vindicate such a theory as this in the course of an academic discussion his arguments, if not likely to be unanswerable, might have been, at least, amusing. At any rate it would have been worth while to follow them, in order to discover how years of "careful study" can lead the student back to the alphabet of his subject. But he has, unfortunately, elected to "consult the interest of the general reader

\* "The History and Growth of Church Music," p. 14.

† "Magister Choralis," p. 21.

‡ *Ibid.*

rather than that of the specialist,"\* and so his method with Plain Chant is only mischievous. "The specialist" may peruse Father Taunton's little book without serious injury to his principles, but the hapless "general reader," who has prejudices, but no principles, except those which he takes on trust, will, in all probability, find confirmation in it for the foregone conclusion that Plain Chant is not, and ought not to be, the music of the Church.

The received view of "the general reader" is that what he calls "mediæval" music is, as it were, the crude germ from which sprang the perfect and full-grown music of the modern school. That the ancient Church Song is a matured and developed system, which has been and is now deliberately retained in the Liturgical Books he has no idea; and he looks leniently on those who profess to admire it, just as he can tolerate the eccentricity of people who have a predilection for old china or the paintings of the pre-Raphaelite masters.† How such a view can be entertained by any one who has even a slight acquaintance with the facts of the case it would not be easy to say, nor need we pause to consider the problem. But in "the interest of the general reader" it is fair to complain that Father Taunton has done much to foster, and nothing to remove this popular prejudice. Speaking of what he calls the "development" of the modern school from the ancient, and the "endeavour to make of music an offering to God, which would be more replete with the spirit of Catholic faith and love" (than the only system which the Church herself authorizes), Father Taunton gives us the key to his argument in the statement that "without neglecting the older style (or as much of it as has been preserved), which in certain cases she imposes as an obligation, and the use of which she encourages in every way," the Church "takes its younger sister by the hand, and offers before the Throne of God the choicest productions of the modern musical genius." This is "making history" in good earnest; and if "the general reader" who has never seen the Choral Books of the Church, were to conclude that Plain Chant is tolerated by her "for the sake of old times," so to speak, in the case of the *Accentus*, but that modern music is what she really authorizes, would the blame rest with him or with Father Taunton? At any rate he will not find it easy to guess what the "proper place" which Father Taunton earnestly wishes to "vindicate" for Plain Chant may be, for he will perceive that throughout the book all and every kind of music which the Church has not explicitly condemned is warmly eulogized, and

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\* "The History and Growth of Church Music," p. 5.

† See Walker's "Plain Song Reason Why," preface.



that Plain Chant is hardly mentioned except with disapproval. The man whose "devotion and religious sentiments are stirred up by Plain Chant" is looked upon by Father Taunton "with a certain amount of awe, as a peculiar being different from the rest of mankind." Plain Chant, he adds, "far from filling us with devotion, depresses us;" it is "no more intelligible to us nowadays than you would be if you were to get up into one of our pulpits and discourse to us in Chaucerian English;" it "does not do for our people; it does not appeal to them, it does not awake in them any echoes of the religious life; the impressions it produces are gloom and monotony, and these are not religious." Now "the general reader" may well be pardoned if he asks, why, if all this be true, does the Church compel the celebrant and the sacred ministers to make use of Plain Chant alone for some of the most solemn portions of the Mass? If the Chant is really undevotional, depressing, conveying nothing intelligible to the soul, surely it ought not to be used in church at all, and the Preface should be sung to modern music—perhaps as a recitative and *aria*. No doubt Father Taunton would regard such a proposal as almost sacrilegious, and he explains that what he says about the Chant is directed only against the *exclusive* use of it for the *Concentus*. But the distinction and the limitation are alike arbitrary, and he must take the consequences of his principles. What the real position of Plain Chant is in the view of the Catholic Church is thus happily described by Bishop Donnelly:

It is the proper music of the Church. The dignity of ecclesiastical functions, and the sacredness of the words that are to be clothed in music demand a peculiar and singular method of chant, which shall be exclusively the property of the Church, and run no risk of being ever confounded with worldly or profane music. This is one of the reasons why the Church at all periods has ever maintained the simplicity and dignity of Gregorian Song, and in her Liturgical Books authorizes no other.

The "Plain Chantist," therefore, is not inconsistent or unreasonable. If he thinks it safest to sing what the Church authorizes and to exclude what the Church merely tolerates, can even those complain who, like Father Taunton and myself, delight in figured music? In truth it is no disparagement to him to admit that he resembles the teetotaller, though there is nothing necessarily "rabid" about the one or the other. Total abstinence and strictness in regard to Church music have both been commended to English Catholics by the same high authority; and for both alike, in these days, is there not a cause? Again, the advocate of Plain Chant who would allow "figured music in the



Palestrina style," but not the Masses of Haydn and Mozart, is not unreasonable. To Palestrina "belongs the double glory of restoring the Chant to its former grand and simple beauty, and of exhibiting contrapuntal or harmonized music, as the vehicle of Christian thought, in such marvellous power as to secure for it toleration in the Liturgy."\* When it can be proved that Haydn and Mozart received the same countenance from the Church as was accorded to Palestrina it will be reasonable to class their works with his—but not till then. For those who would use only modern music in church I am unwilling to say one word. But we must give every one his due, and they, too, are in their way consistent. They adopt the theory of the development of Church Music which Father Taunton's book supports, and they carry it out as far as they can, without pretence of admiring what their principles compel them to reject as a crude anachronism. But granting, for the sake of argument, all that Father Taunton alleges against the two former classes of controversialists, it may well be asked, is their success in this country such that "the general reader" has any need to be warned against them? Are not all our energies required just now to redeem Plain Chant from the contempt into which it had fallen owing to the indevout carelessness of professional choirs, to whom the music of the Mass was a performance and nothing more?

Apart from its historical associations, and from its practical utility as the basis of the *répertoire* of a voluntary choir, Plain Chant has a claim to consideration which is often overlooked. It is as difficult as it is important to lend some devotional interest to the singer's task. Laymen who seek to serve God in the sanctuary have sacrifices to make, beyond what is involved by regularity at rehearsal, and the surrender of what is probably the only free day of the week to work, which, however interesting, is fatiguing and often anxious. They have to deny themselves even in church. Almost any Catholic, whose musical taste has been cultivated, would probably like best to take his place among the people at High Mass and say his prayers quietly, assisted by what is to him the greatest help to devotion—good, grave, ecclesiastical music. It is only a sense of duty which draws him to the choir-chamber or the stalls, for there his first thoughts must be given to the music in which he takes part, and his own devotions are often of necessity postponed to the special task which he has to fulfil. This is as it ought to be : to sing well is surely the chorister's way of worshipping God. Yet devotion in the ordinary sense of the word has to be thought of, and most singers—certainly most organists—hardly feel that

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\* "Catholic Dictionary," p. 882.

Sunday is spent as well as it should be unless they can hear a Low Mass before their official duties claim their best thoughts. This, however, cannot be done by every one. Considerations of distance from church, or the routine of small households, must not be left out of count; and we ought at least to try to solve the question, how can the choirman contrive to hear Mass devoutly when he is on duty? I venture to suggest that nothing can help him so much as the regular chanting of the Proper of the Mass. Popular "methods of hearing Mass" cannot be used by the chorister: he is tied down to the actual words of the "Concentus," and except at the Elevation, has hardly a moment that he can call his own. Will it not give new life and meaning to the form of devotion which he is compelled to adopt, if he is enabled to use those portions of the Mass which give the key to the office of the Sunday or Festival in which he is taking part? The congregation will also share in this benefit. I do not for a moment suggest that any improvement is possible on the system by which Catholics of the greatest attainments and of the humblest are enabled to join intelligently in the same great Act of Worship. The Church has solved in this matter a problem which no religious body outside her pale has even attempted to grapple with, and only those who have had experience of the disastrous incapacity of the sects to make united worship anything like a reality can fully understand how marvellous the success of the Church actually is. Yet it is, I suppose, the ideal set before us that the laity should follow the words of the Missal, when they are able to do so. However this may be, it is a custom with many devout Catholics to do so at High Mass; and to these the singing of the Proper must be a source of edification. Indeed, it may be that the custom would be more common if the Proper were more commonly sung, for it is worth notice that where this is done the Proper *does* find a place in popular prayer-books, and *is* followed by the people. Even our large English prayer-books omit the Proper, but the French or Belgian Catholic finds it in his smaller "*Paroissien Romain*," along with such private devotions as we have in the "*Golden Manual*," or the "*Path to Heaven*," and follows it at High Mass just as he follows the "*Credo*" or "*Gloria*"—he is, in fact, *positis ponendis*, as familiar with the one as with the other. Nor is this limited to the educated. The peasants, to whom Vespers is as attractive as is the popular evening service in French, are quite at home with the Proper of the Mass. The subdued hum of men's voices which is to be heard sometimes in a Walloon country church, suggestive of an inclination for congregational singing, when some popular *Introit* or *Sequence* recurs, is instructive. It disposes of such suggestions as that of

Father Taunton that "Plain Chant essentially demands a knowledge of Latin, both on the part of the singer and on the part of the hearer," and that "where this knowledge is wanting the Chant is lifeless and without character or meaning." But we need not go outside our English churches for an answer to this odd allegation, which by the way sounds not unlike the old Protestant objection to Latin services. When the people are familiar with the words chanted, as in the case of the "Pater Noster," or the "Tantum Ergo," or the "Salve Regina," the Chant is anything but unmeaning; and it would not be difficult to find cantors who do not know a word of Latin, and yet sing the Antiphons at Vespers as if they were ripe scholars. If choir-men do not know Latin, the clergy do; and a few words of explanation from the priest before rehearsal will have great practical effect. Moreover, we have translations of the Proper in our "missals for the laity," and if in the English of these words of Latin origin occur more frequently than elegance of rendering demands, at least the advantage arises that the meaning of each separate word is more easily seen by the chorister who knows no language but his own.

To trace the onward steps of our voluntary choir in detail would be a waste of words. When once the foundation is securely laid it will be easy to introduce such an amount of figured music as may give variety to the singing. A quartet of male voices superadded to the choir of melodists will work wonders in this way, and in due time boys may be admitted, taking part first in a popular evening service, then in the Responses or a Gregorian "Credo" at Mass, and so advancing to more ambitious efforts. Everything must not be attempted at once, and it will be prudent to perfect the music of the Ordinary of the Mass before trying to sing the Proper to the Chant in the "Graduale." The Proper may be sung to a simple psalm tone until the words are known, somewhat on the principle of the little book entitled "The Words of the Introits, Graduals, Offer-tories, and Communions"—although the pointing in this well-meant manual is inadequate, and the printing of the tones in it in Gregorian notation presupposes a knowledge which beginners are often without. The Rev. Joseph Mohr has done a service to the inexperienced chorister by giving in his admirable "*Manuale Cantorum*" the music for the Ordinary of the Mass and the hymns for Vespers translated into the notation of modern music; and in Herr Haberl's "*Psalterium Vespertinum*," "the results of experiments" made during many years—by the greatest living authority on Plain Chant, to whom the Sacred Congregation entrusted the task of editing the Choral Books and of supplying the music for the new feasts—"and of practical experience in

making a number of singers keep exactly together in singing the psalms,"\* are placed at the disposal of the veriest tyro. But it would be impossible to give an account here of the numerous aids to good singing which the zeal and enterprise of Herr Pustet, of Ratisbon, have made accessible to our choirs; nor must we enter on the interesting subject of the chanting of the psalms at Vespers, on which the good repute of our liturgical music so largely depends. Enough has been said to show that the music of the Mass may be easily learned and creditably sung by amateur choirs, if only they will take pains, and follow the course indicated by the Church in her Choral Books. Let this once be accomplished, and it will be found that the rest will follow. It need only be added that our choirs ought to keep rigidly to the books put before them: otherwise slovenly customs will soon creep in. It is singular, for instance, that the Litany of the Saints used at Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament is habitually sung in our churches after a fashion not to be found in the "*Directorium Chori*," an unauthorized interval of a full-tone being introduced which alters the whole character of the chant; and that in the *Ite Missa est* for Eastertide a semi-tone is in the same way twice sung where a whole tone is in the book. So common is the mistake that its existence is hardly known, but a reference to the "*Manuale Cantorum*" will make it evident to any one who "knows his notes."†

It is now time to turn to the subject of congregational singing, for that, in its own sphere, deserves attention as much as the music of the Liturgy itself. Congregational singing is the fashion of the hour in England, and its influence in popularizing the various forms of Protestantism, from Ritualism to the Salvation Army, can hardly be over-estimated. It is a power with the people, and unless it can be directed aright, such a power is perilous; for it is surely no gain to the cause of Christianity that doctrine—or, in other words, truth—should be accounted a matter of comparative indifference so long as the multitude are allowed to sing. That this is the case in this country just now need hardly be pointed out. Strip the services of any of the sects of this attraction, and what remains? Certainly no agreement on any fundamental principle which would hold the people together for an hour. On the other hand, wherever there is congregational singing, the services are accounted "hearty," and the ministers "earnest," and any "doxy" goes down. Now, what is this but unconscious Agnos-

\* "*Psalterium Vespertinum*." Preface translated by Mr. H. S. Butterfield.

† "*Manuale Cantorum*," pp. 424 and 115.

ticism? We must not, indeed, blame the men who *will* worship, even though they worship they know not what; but it is well to remember that their necessity is the opportunity of the Church, and that the congregational singing which influences them so strongly, may be made a means of leading them to the true worship which they are groping after, if only the Church comes to the rescue. But congregational singing is by no means the property of Protestantism. In its present form it is borrowed, like everything that is effective in the non-Catholic systems, from the Church. In promoting it we should not be adopting what is done by the sects, but rather giving new vigour to what is really a world-wide Catholic practice. On this point the Bishops of England leave us in no doubt as to their opinions and wishes. "The congregational use of English prayers—an immemorial custom of our forefathers," as the Preface to the "Manual of Prayers for Congregational Use" calls it—is not to be regarded as a relic of the days of persecution. It is to be desired, not for the sake of Protestants alone, but for the edification of Catholics. "The popular use of devotions in the vernacular," the Bishops tell us, "has always been universal in the Church, and in this country our congregations are to be encouraged in the regular and frequent use of them, especially on account of the doctrinal and moral truths with which they continually inform the mind, while at the same time they nourish and strengthen the soul." Nor is the commendation confined to the use of prayers. "The psalms have been pointed for public recitation and for singing" in English, as have also been the "Te Deum," the Athanasian Creed, and the "Stabat Mater;" and a number of well-known hymns find a place in the "Manual." Moreover, it is explained that at Exposition and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament "after the 'O Salutaris' vernacular prayers may be used for novenas, triduos, or for any special occasion." Our task, therefore, as regards congregational singing, is not to consider how far it is permissible, but how the wide sanction which has been given to its use may be turned to the best account, both for our own people, and those whom we seek to win to the Church.

Congregational singing does not come by nature, it has to be carefully learned and practised, and in a certain sense is more difficult to do well than the music of the Mass itself. It is not enough to play a "rousing" hymn tune upon the organ and allow every one in the church to shout or scream at his or her own sweet will. Suppose that the congregation as a body take up the hymn—which is more than doubtful—the result would be that a Babel of sounds would ensue which would effectually put an end to all devotion even among the most unmusical. What

the sufferings of those would be who are gifted, or afflicted, with an ear I can hardly bring myself to contemplate. But let those who have more courage recall the sensations with which they have heard an enthusiastic worshipper supply an *ad libitum* tenor part to the responses at Benediction, when the choir were singing in unison with a varying organ accompaniment. Oddly enough, people who cannot sing at all have no scruple about attempting such feats; they of all the congregation are the readiest to essay the impossible. They will even join in, in this fashion, when the singing is of its very essence *not* congregational. In York Minster, once on a time, *horresco referens*, I fled from the stalls near the Dean because of an "earnest" old gentleman who would perform a bass of his own in the Psalms—Psalms sung to harmonized chants by a choir half a church's length distant from my tormentor—only to find myself, in the big pew below the pulpit, beside a lady with a cracked voice who had an aptitude for "taking a second." Happily our habits render such occurrences rarer in Catholic than in Protestant churches—Protestants, as a body, are doubtful whether they are worshipping at all unless they give vocal expression to their devotion. Yet even in Catholic churches the irrepressible "congregationalist" is not unknown. Quite twenty people must have marvelled, as did I, at the courage of a co-religionist who *would* back up the choir in the "Te Deum" at the Kensington Pro-Cathedral on the occasion of the Thanksgiving for the Queen's Jubilee, singing lustily and withal in a style ornate with twirls and twiddles, which went out with Colonel Newcome. It is impossible, too, to be in charity with the man with a deep voice who growls the melody an octave below the male singers. But we must not be too critical, says the tolerant "congregationalist" who is not afflicted with an ear: the great thing is to get every one to sing. "He jests at scars who never felt a wound." But I will take him at his word. The great thing is to get the people to *sing*—not to groan, or shout, or whine. It is certainly a strange way of honouring Almighty God to allow in church a kind of cats' chorus which would not pass muster in a public-house.

But the people can sing, and sing fervently and grandly, if only they are taught how; and if they are properly led. First of all they must be made to understand that congregational singing is always to be in *unison*. They must all sing the melody, whether they know how to sing in parts or not. If a church were filled with trained musicians, each with his part before him, harmonized singing would be impossible, for the balance of the harmony would be hopelessly lost. What must be the case when a crowd sing extempore parts, producing a hundred different harmonies—let us say for courtesy's sake—while the organ plays an arrangement different from all? A few



words from the priest would secure the observance of this simple rule at first: afterwards the people themselves, when once the idea is grasped, will speedily frown down any wayward vocalist who infringes it. Nothing is more moving than the singing of some simple hymn by a great body of voices in unison, and nothing will do so much to discredit congregational singing as to neglect the training of the people in this rule—to which there is absolutely no exception, though many exceptions are made. Next the congregation must be led, and for this men's voices are indispensable. To the untutored ear the voices of boys or women sound so highly pitched that the people are afraid, the men especially, to join in the singing. Nor will one man do the work well, however powerful his voice may be, and however great his confidence. A choir singing in harmony, with an organ accompaniment in which the diapasons rather than the reeds are made use of, forms an excellent basis; but perhaps the best way to start congregational singing is to disperse the choir-men about the church. This experiment I once saw tried with success under somewhat singular circumstances. An Anglican Vicar was compelled, for good reasons, to accept the resignation of his voluntary choir. They had been well trained, and sang the Gregorian tones to the psalms, and a number of hymn tunes in unison, and the disbanding of the choir seemed a calamity. Indeed, the choristers considered themselves indispensable, and looked forward to the submission of their minister as only a matter of time. He, however, was not alarmed, and proceeded on the following Sunday to chant the service himself, with the aid of one man and two boys who alone had remained faithful out of a body of twenty-four. Naturally enough the disbanded rebels could not resist the temptation to sing from their places in church, and in a few weeks they had, all unconsciously, established a system of congregational singing which the people did not forget when in due time the choir—not the clergyman—made their submission and were restored to the chancel. And here one more advantage of training voluntary choirs in Plain Chant becomes obvious. To disperse a professional choir trained only to sing figured music, among a congregation would be useless, even if it were possible. Of course they would not sympathize with congregational singing; and if they did, they would not know how to sing hymns in unison. The people too would be over-awed by the presence in their midst of the *basso profundo* and the glorious tenor. But a band of amateur baritones who have chanted the Proper of the Mass, shoulder to shoulder, Sunday after Sunday, would sing a simple hymn tune with confidence and precision, even if they were not sitting together; and the voices with whose unison the people were familiar would have no appalling effect upon their nerves.



When the lesson was learned, the choir, who had from their circumstances, been in hearty accord with the movement to teach their friends and families to sing, might be re-embodied and lead the hymns, singing alternate verses alone in harmony, from the choir-chamber or the sanctuary.

Last, but not least in importance, comes the question what tunes the people should be taught to sing. Popular devotion, as well as the Liturgy, demands a kind of popular tune which "shall be exclusively the property of the Church, and run no risk of being ever confounded with" that which is "worldly or profane." Now in the case of what are known as "good rollicking tunes," priests and choirmasters are liable to be misled. They, of all men, are the least likely to be conversant with the melodies of the music hall, and it is not easy for them to be sure what use a "popular" tune of secular antecedents may have been put to in its time; but the same thing cannot safely be said of every member of a mixed congregation. But apart from this, such tunes are on their merits often unsuitable. Not having been written for unison singing, they are commonly of a compass far beyond the range of the average English voice; and even if a mixed multitude attempts to sing them, the strain will have an undevotional effect. What is more likely, however, is that the less confident of the singers will give up the attempt in despair. Now Anglican congregational singing is confessedly good of its kind, and much of its excellence is due to the principles adopted by the skilful compilers of "*Hymns Ancient and Modern*," which has attained a wide popularity. In this book it is rare to find a tune of which either the melody or the tenor part outruns the compass of the ordinary light baritone, and the melodies are at once ecclesiastical and "catching." We too have at last a similar book, and although now and then the question of compass is forgotten for a moment in Mr. Tozer's "*Catholic Hymns*," the collection, so far as it goes, is excellent, and its publication marks a new era in the history of Catholic congregational singing.

Here, as elsewhere, we have but to use what lies ready to our hands in order to succeed. No religious body in England can lay claim to greater capabilities than those possessed by the Catholic community, and in none is to be seen a steadier advance, year by year, in all that they undertake. The stain of persecution is still upon the sanctuary, but it is cheering to note the successes that have been won, and are daily being won, in the task which belongs to the Church of showing, alike to her own children and to those who are not yet "of the household of the faith," the perfection of worship "in holy becomingness."

SYDNEY H. LITTLE, M.A.

# ART. V.—RECENT WORKS ON PRIMITIVE BUDDHISM.

INDIA has never known history. In order to reconstruct the annals of this great country, we are compelled to have recourse to long and tedious inductions, and it is but seldom that these give us precise and positive results. Buddhism hardly forms an exception to this recognized fact. The divergences of opinion which prevail among the best critics upon everything relating to its origin and primitive history is a clear proof of it. The period in which Buddha lived—the main facts of his life—certain capital points in his doctrine, have been, among the most eminent *savants*, the object of controversies, in which the most contrary opinions have been sustained with equal erudition, talent, and good faith on either side. We have especially in mind here the works of Oldenberg, “Der Buddha, sein Leben und seine Gemeinde,” Sénart’s “La Légende du Buddha,” and Kern’s “Het Buddhisme.”

There is a deep interest attaching to these studies. The annals of Buddhism form an important chapter in the history of humanity. It is not, however, that the study of this philosophy is of much utility in itself. Whatever soundness may be contained in it is found in far greater perfection in the Christian teaching; the rest forms rather a series of curious phenomena of intellectual and moral pathology. But there are not wanting at the present day popular writers who pose as far better *au courant* with the events of the Buddhist world and the nature of its doctrines than the *savants* who have burnt the midnight oil in thankless researches. For such men the religion of Buddha is simply an instrument of war destined to be employed against a religion which they do not like. There is, accordingly, a scientific and religious interest in knowing exactly the state of science as regards this matter.

In this paper we shall first give an analysis of the works above enumerated; a second portion will be devoted to a critical study of the systems which have been expounded.

## PART I.—SECTION I.

“Buddha: sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde.”\* Such is the title of the book in which Dr. Hermann Oldenberg gives us the fruits of his patient researches. Whether we accept

\* Oldenberg has already published entire, and in great part translated, the Vinaya-Pitaka, which contains the disciplinary part of the Singhalese Canon. His Vedic works are to be found in the “Indische Studien,” the “Sacred Books” (Oxford), and the “Zeitschrift d. Morgenl. Gesellschaft” (Leipsic).

the author's opinions or not, we cannot sufficiently praise his work. Dr. Oldenberg has a profound knowledge of Vedic antiquity, and of the canonical books of Ceylon, which are written in the Pāli language, and represent the Southern Buddhism as differing considerably from the Northern.\* In his opinion, primitive Buddhism is not a reform more or less violent, a popular reaction against the domination of the Brahmins; it is, on the contrary, the natural and necessary fruit of the doctrines and sects which sprang up during the later Vedic times. These are almost immediately connected with the times of which the memory is preserved for us in the Sacred Books of Ceylon. These books reach back to a very early period; they were composed a little after the death of the Founder, and may now serve us as safe guides in our researches. Such are the principles which characterize the learned author's work.

The belief of Dr. Oldenberg in the high value to be attached to the Singhalese texts is not shared by all; his views, however, regarding the primitive relations of Buddhism and Brahminism are hardly contested.

CHAP. I.—1. Primitive Aryan Inhabitants of India. 2. Indian Pantheism and Pessimism before Buddha. 3. Asceticism and Monastic Orders.

1. The course to be pursued in this work, says the author, is clearly determined by the nature of its object. It is evident that our first duty is to describe the ground on which the Buddhist edifice has been reared, the historical and national conditions in the midst of which Buddha appeared, and, first of all, to make known the religious life and philosophical speculation of India previous to his time. Several centuries already before his birth, Indian thought had undergone changes which prepared the way for Buddhism, and which it is impossible to disregard in an *exposé* of the system.

The 72 pages which the author consecrates to this preliminary study form perhaps the most original and successful part of his work. Several of the more important passages we shall here reproduce:—

The Aryan populations of India came into the peninsula, as is well known, from the north-west. This immigration lay already in the remote past, at the time to which the oldest monuments which we have

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\* An English translation has been published by W. Hoey: "Buddha: his Life, his Doctrine, his Order." Most of our quotations are taken from this version.

of religious poetry belong. The Indians had as completely lost the memory of this as the corresponding events had been forgotten by the Greeks and Italians. Fair Aryans pressed on and broke down the strongholds of the aboriginal inhabitants, the "black-skinned," the "lawless," and "godless." The enemy was driven back, annihilated or subjugated. When the songs of the Veda were sung, Aryan clans, though perhaps only as adventurous, solitary pioneers, had already pressed on to where the Indus in the west, and possibly also to where the Ganges in the east, empty their mighty waters into the sea; inexhaustibly rich regions in which the flocks of the Aryans grazed, and the Aryan deities were honoured with prayer and sacrifice.

Probably the first immigrants, and, therefore, the farthest forward to the east, whether confederate or dissociated we know not, are those tribes which meet us later on east of the junction of the Ganges and Yamunâ, settled on both banks of the Ganges, the Anga and Magadha, the Videha, the Kāçi, and Kosala.

A second wave of the great tide of immigration brought with it new groups of Aryans, a number of tribes closely interconnected, who, surpassing their brothers intellectually, have produced the most ancient great monuments of the Indian mind which we possess, and which we call by the name of the Vedas. We find these tribes at the time of which the hymns of the Rig-Veda give us a picture near the entrances of the Indian peninsula, at the Indus, and in the Panjâb; later on they are driven to the south-east, and have founded on the upper stream of the Ganges and on the Yamunâ those kingdoms which are called in "Manu's Institutes" the land of the "Brahmarshis," the home and the type of holy, upright living. "By a Brahman who has been born in this land," says the Law (of Manu), "shall all men on earth be instructed as to their conduct." The names of the Bharata tribe, Kuru, Pancâla, stand out among the peoples of this classic land of Vedic culture, which lies before our gaze in clear illumination as a land rich in advanced intellectual creation, while the destinies of the other tribes, who had immigrated at an earlier date, remained in darkness until the period when they came into contact with the culture of their brother tribes.

Then follows a description by the author of the changes worked upon the character of the immigrants, especially among the tribes of the Centre, by climatic influences, the régime of the castes, the arbitrary regulations of princes, and the great power of the Brahmans, who succeeded in imposing themselves as earthly divinities, and in transforming the people to their likeness. Little by little they became enervated, lost all proper feeling for the great realities of this world, and looked upon the gigantic phantoms in which their unchecked imagination had enwrapped the universe, as the only things worth seriously considering.

The following is a faithful picture of the external life and intimate preoccupations of the sacerdotal caste. It is the

quintessence of the professional traits of the old Brahmins which the author has studied so deeply.

The days of the Brahmin passed in solemn routine. At every step those narrowed restraining limits held him in, which the holy dignity that he represented imposed on the inner and outer man. He passed his youth in hearing and learning the sacred word, for a true Brahmin is he alone "who has heard." And if he acquired the reputation "of having heard," his adult life passed in teaching, in the village or out in the solitude of the forest, in the consecrated circle, on which the sun shone in the east, where alone the most secret instruction could be imparted openly to the muffled scholar. Or he was to be found at the place of sacrifice, performing for himself and for others the sacred office, which, with its countless observances, demanded the most painful minuteness and the most laborious proficiency, or he fulfilled the life-long duty of *Brahma-offering*, that is, the daily prayer from the sacred *Veda*. Well might riches flow into his hands by the remuneration for sacrifice which kings and nobles gave to the Brahmins, but he passed as most worthy who lived, not by offering for others, but by the gleanings of the field which he gathered, or by alms for which he had not asked, or such charity as he had begged as a favour. Still living even as a beggar he looked on himself as exalted above earthly potentates and subjects, made of other stuff than they. The Brahmins call themselves gods, and, in treaty with the gods of heaven, these gods of earth know themselves possessed of weapons of the gods, weapons of spiritual power, before which all earthly weapons snap powerless. "The Brahmins," says a Vedic song, "carry sharp arrows; they have darts: the aim which they take fails not. They attack their enemy in their holy ardour and their fury; they pierce him through from afar." The king whom they anoint to rule over their people is not their king. The priest at the coronation, when he presents the ruler to his subjects, says: "This is your King, O people; the King over us Brahmins is *Soma*." They, the Brahmins, standing without the pale of the State, bind themselves together in a great confederacy, which extends as far as the ordinances of the *Veda* are current. The members of this confederacy are the only teachers of the rising youth. The young Indian of Aryan birth is as good as out-caste if he be not brought at a proper age to a Brahmin teacher to receive from him the sacred cord, the mark of the spiritual twice-born, and to be inducted into the wisdom of the *Vedas*. "Into my control," then says the teacher, "I take thy heart; let thy thought follow my thought, with all thy soul rejoice in my word."

In the strength and the weakness of the forms of life of this class of thinkers lies also, as it were in a germ, the strength and weakness of their thought. They were, so to speak, banished into a self-made world, cut off from the refreshing atmosphere of real life, by nothing shaken in their unbounded belief in themselves and in their unique omnipotence, in comparison with which all that gave character to the life of others must have appeared small and contemptible. And thus, therefore, in their thought also the utmost boldness of world-disclaiming

abstraction shows itself, which soars beyond all that is visible into the regions of the spaceless and timeless, to caper in sickly company, in baseless chimeras without limit or aim, in fancies such as can be conceived only by a spirit which has lost all taste for the sober realities of fact. They have created a mode of thought, in which the great and profound has joined partnership with childish absurdities so uniquely that the history of the attempts of humanity to comprehend self and the universe affords no parallel.

2. After this we are introduced by the author to the paths by which the Hindus attained to the philosophical doctrines which served as a preparation for Buddhism. He scarcely touches on the hymns of the Rig-Veda: still he shows in them traces already existing of the ideas which were to triumph in a later age. It is in the rituals, entitled *Brāhmanas*, the compilation of which he fixes as belonging to the ninth and seventh centuries of our era, that he studies the advance of philosophy in ancient India.

During this period all intellectual activity is found concentrated in *sacrifice*. The science of sacrifice and of its mystical meaning is composed of two elements—the first being the ancient and naïve faith in the gods invoked by the forefathers. Here there is always question of India, Savitar, the Aurora, and of the other powers which preside over the progress of the universe. However this pantheon of olden times is losing credit, there is constantly being made an effort to give to the different forces that govern mankind and the world their true name. Then these forces are substituted in the sacrifice for the divinities of former times, and the Brahman acts as a sovereign over the cosmical elements, just as he was wont formerly to dispose of the favours of those who ruled them. "This universe knows the progress of sacrifice." There is thus gradually formed an inextricable mass of symbols and mystic powers—names, words, syllables, rhythms; the smallest ceremonies correspond to and identify themselves with realities of this world, whose onward march they determine; each generation exerts its ingenuity in supplying its share of these extra vagaries and phantasmagoria, and in surpassing those which have gone before it. However, in the midst of this whirling chaos, certain phantoms raise themselves little by little, and succeed in over-mastering the others. All these symbols and powers end by being regarded as phenomena, manifestations of fundamental and substantial entities. Gradually they are classified in groups, coalescing in the unity of a common substance.

But very soon thought overpasses all boundaries, and pronounces the final word—"This and that is the ALL." Here, after many fluctuations and returns, it comes to a standstill.

Among the central notions of which we have just been speak-

ing, there are two which persist all through—viz., the notions of the *ATMÂ* and the *BRAHMA*.

The *Atmâ* is the "*Ego*," the central power round which are grouped the "ten vital breaths which run through the human body." It is from the *Atmâ* the members of the body derive their existence. But the human body is the microcosm to which correspond the different parts of the universe, and it is owing to this relation that the *Atmâ* became little by little the universal principle. Just as, according to our author, who himself echoes the Brahman ritual—just as the human eye resembles the Sun, the Eye of the World, just as the respiratory powers are images of the divinities, which, like vital breaths, move about the universe—so likewise the *Atmâ*, the central substance of the *Ego*, freeing itself from human personality, becomes the creative force, which moves the immense body of the universe. It is identified with *Prajâpati*, the Universal Progenitor. Further still, in one word, it receives the final name of "Universe." "The *Atmâ* is the Universe." Without doubt the solution is not as yet either fully realized or definitive; a thousand phantoms will continue to haunt men's minds; but the *Atmâ* will succeed in banishing them all, by taking settled possession of Indian thought.

In the meantime another power, belonging to a different order of things, is seeking to take possession of men's minds. It is the *BRAHMA*, the Holy Word, which ever accompanies the great act of sacrifice—a kind of spiritual fluid, which elevates the sacred word and its depositories above speech and the profane world. The World of the Word is for the Hindu another microcosm, in the rhythm of the sacred hymn, he believes he hears the echo of the chords of the Universe. This substance then, whence the Sacred Word derives its energy, must be a force which is found living in the depths of all things.

The fanciful subtleties concerning the hidden mysteries of the Vedic Word, and the sacerdotal pride of its human depositories, have equally contributed to raise this to entirely supreme rank in the minds of the Hindus. It is said of the priest, whilst fulfilling certain ceremonies of the sacrifice, "he is making *Brahma* the head of the Universe; that is why the *Brahma* is the head of this Universe." "The *Brahma* is the Word; the truth in the word is the *Brahma*." The *Brahma* is the "Right." It is by the *Brahma* that the heavens and the earth are kept together. After a period of hesitation, similar to the one recorded in the history of the notion of the *Atmâ*, the *Brahma* became definitively the fundamental Entity in which the Universe finds both its origin and its unity. Finally, when the idea of the eternal, universal Being, in which all particular beings are swallowed up and disappear, was definitively grasped by minds fatigued with constant



agitation, the notions of the Brahma and the Atmâ coincided with each other. The pantheistic being of the Hindus appears indifferently under one or other of these names.

The number of those initiated into the new doctrines was at first restricted, but they formed the *élite* of the nation. A lively emulation animated them, and they strove to surpass each other in discovering the mysteries of the Atmâ. In reading their rituals we seem to be assisting at veritable philosophical tournaments, in which Brahmans, warriors, and women shared equally, and in which glory, riches, and royal favours are the prizes of victory. In another part we again assist at a spectacle, but of a very different kind, in which the Brahmans, having recognized and acknowledged the Atmâ, renounce things of earth and begin to live on alms. The origin of the religious life coincides in India with the birth of the doctrine of Atmâ.

Accordingly India was considered to have settled the question of the nature and, at the same time, of the origin of things, by identifying them with the universal, indeterminate Being, designated especially by the names of Atmâ and Brahma. There still remained for her the difficult task of finding the relation of the Atmâ to the sensible world. Are sensible things something independent of the Atmâ which is in them and acts on them? Or else do they resolve themselves completely in it? This question, put more than once, was hardly ever clearly and precisely stated. That which is of importance is the recognizing in the Atmâ the source of all life, the bond which gives to the various beings their unity. But when it becomes a question of settling the relation between the multiplicity and unity of things, recourse is had to comparisons and symbols which can hardly be interpreted without running the danger of confounding the sense intended by the authors with other meanings which are accidentally included in them.

The Atmâ, according to them, penetrates things, just as salt penetrates water in which it is dissolved. They issue from the Atmâ just as the spark from the fire, or the web from the spider, or sound from the beat of a drum. We can probably put the finishing stroke to their thought, by adding that water, though penetrated with salt, continues, however, to subsist as matter distinct from the salt; and we may conclude from this that the Atmâ is doubtless the foundation, the sole essence of things, but that they contain, however, a residuum, which is not it. The expressions which seem to say the contrary, inasmuch as they affirm that the Atmâ is All, are owing doubtless to the style of the language of that epoch, when the minds of men were all absorbed by the excellence of the Atmâ, the only principle worthy of attention.

But in what way was this residuum looked upon as distinct from the *Atmâ*? Whence came it? What was it? Seldom is this question put, but where it does present itself, it seems that a kind of chaos—a world of possible beings was imagined, which were transformed by the action of the *Atmâ* into realities.

Let us now pass from this purely speculative region to the practical consequences which were drawn from it by the Hindus. We shall see how this doctrine of the *ἐν καὶ πᾶν* engendered pessimism, and the theories of transmigration and deliverance.

The *Atmâ*—the one and universal Being—had received from its first worshippers the plenitude of all perfections; it was natural that the world of multiplicity should be regarded contemptuously. But

Hope springs eternal in the human breast :

its roots cannot be torn out from the heart. The fear also of being subjected to a fatal series of existences and death, is soon sweetened by the hope of *deliverance*. The ideas concerning the deliverance are at first vague and fantastic. They become clearer as soon as speculation acquired a more stable and definite shape. The notions of evil and deliverance became connected with those of the *Atmâ* and the Universe—from these there resulted an organized whole, in which no trace of incoherency could be any longer perceived. On the one hand, there was the duality of the eternal *Brahma*—the very foundation of things, the veritable Being—in the human mind (*Brahma Atmâ*); on the other is the World, in which man exists and perishes, suffers and dies. From this point the moral doctrine presents us with terms opposed and parallel to the first: the soul kept captive in the bonds of death and wandering from one existence to another one no less fatal, and the delivered soul which has overcome death after reaching the goal of her peregrinations. The result of the union of these two series of ideas was necessarily and actually this—viz., the journeying without end of the soul across the regions of death is due to its non-identity with the *Brahma*; deliverance consists in bringing about the union of the soul with its true essence, the *Brahma*. The union does not exist as long as the human mind takes part in the thinking and willing of the inhabitants of this world of multiplicity. Whilst this goes on, it remains subject to the law by which this world is governed—the law of becoming and of destruction, of birth and death. It is only when the mind and the heart are turned from the various beings, that the mind, freed from the empire of death, returns to the abode of life—to the *Brahma*.

When he has set himself free from every desire of his heart,  
The mortal enters immortal into the *Brahma* here below.

It is desire (Kâma) and action (Karmâ) that are regarded as the two powers which keep the mind within the limits of the finite world. In reality they are only one.

All that constitutes human life was thus regarded as opposed to the *summum bonum*, the only *bonum*—viz., the Brahma or Atmâ. The Atmâ is celebrated as being "above hunger and thirst, above sorrow and confusion, above old age and death." The Atmâ which resides in all beings is far from coming in contact with the sorrow of this world. The manifestation of the Atmâ in this world of multiplicity, of birth and death, is accordingly a misfortune. They dare not say so, because they recoil from the thought of placing in the being, one and happy, the roots of earthly pain; but it must have been thought about, since it was regarded as the supreme aim of human life to return towards the initial state, the destruction of particular existence, in which the Atmâ manifested itself.

This pessimist conception of earthly life is apparent even at the beginning of the period of the Brahmins. From that time people became dissatisfied with the simplicity of the Vedic belief relative to a future life. In those ancient times, men were persuaded that death invariably finished their fate—happy or unhappy—for ever. In the sombre speculations of the later mystics, however, death maintains its empire even beyond the grave. "In all the worlds," it is said, "the Powers of death exercise their empire; if a person does not make them offerings, death will find him in each world; but if a person offers them sacrifice he can ward death off from him in each world." These ideas must have largely contributed to make men look upon the world as a place of misery and misfortune.

In the works of salvation, evil action and good action are equally impotent; the latter doubtless gains for its author a recompense, but a finite and temporary recompense in a subsequent life. The eternal Atmâ is raised above recompense and punishment, above holiness or moral stain; the earthly image of this state of supreme quietude is the profound sleep in which the world, even as a dream, disappears from the eyes of the mind. Later on an attempt is made to call into existence the state of ecstasy, in which everything disappears and the soul seems to float between finite reality and blessed Nirvâna. The Buddhist books are full of considerations on these states of contemplation, so difficult to define.

Instead of desire and action, it is often ignorance—the want of knowledge of the Atmâ—which decides the soul's slavery. Salvation is then bought at the cost of knowledge. "Where every being has become the Atmâ (the self) to the sage, how could there be errors? and how could there be pain for him who fixes his gaze upon

unity?" "At the death of death arrives he who sees here diversity; thought alone can grasp this imperishable, this eternal being."

These two views enter one into the other. First comes knowledge, making desire soon disappear. Reciprocally the last root of attachment to finite things is the defect of knowledge.

From this point we find ourselves, so to speak, in full Buddhism. At the moment when delivering knowledge showed itself to Buddha under the tree of Bodhi (knowledge), he pronounced these words:

When the conditions (of existence) reveal themselves  
To the ardent contemplating Brahman,  
To earth he casts the tempter's hosts,  
Like the sun diffusing light through the air.

With him, as with his predecessors, it is the want of knowledge which is the final root of evil. By cutting it out we destroy desire, and put an end to the fatal series of births and deaths. If Buddhism pretended to create a faith without God—if it dreamt of a deliverance which man of himself ought to be able to effect, it is because Brahmanic speculation had prepared the way for it by ceaselessly trampling on the notion of a Divinity, so far as not to see anything beyond man struggling with Destiny, which the Brahmanic philosopher wished to teach him to master.

It is not easy to determine the position of the other ideas common to Brahmins and Buddhists. Have the latter in some cases borrowed the ideas of their predecessors, or, on the contrary, shall we have to admit an influence exercised on the Brahmins themselves, who continued to practise their old religion in the very teeth of their adversaries? To decide these questions we are obliged to have recourse to internal criticism, the results of which are always problematic. As to the date of the documents in which these points of doctrine are set forth, we cannot determine it in the same way as we can in the case of the ancient texts in which the *Atmâ* doctrine is little by little developed.

Oldenberg, however, is of opinion that an exception can be made for the Buddhist ideas of *Mâra*, the Tempter, and *Brahmâ Sahampati*; he connects them respectively with *Mṛtyu*, the God of death, and *Brahma*, the ancestor of the world.

In the *Kâthaka-Upanishad*—probably anterior to Buddhism—it is *Yama*, the God of death, who seeks to seduce the young *Naciketas* to make him give up the attempt to obtain a knowledge of the *Atmâ*. *Naciketas* resists him, and does not allow himself to be turned away from his noble aim by any of the perishable goods with which the tempter seeks to allure him. The same struggles are shared by Buddha in his eager desire to attain the perfection of wisdom. He also repels the advances of *Mâra*, and

entirely defeats him. Observe that Māra, derived from the root *mar*—to die—is just the same as *Mrtyu*—death.

The God Brahmā—ancestor of the world—is none else than the Brahma whose origin we have studied in the preceding pages, as personified and placed within the comprehension of all. How has this speculative idea taken a form and received admittance into the popular mythology? Here our authorities leave us in complete ignorance. All we know is that the work was accomplished in the very earliest times of Buddhism. There is no divinity so familiar to the Buddhists as the Brahmā-Sahampati; it always appears the first among the *dévas*, who from time to time leave their ethereal abodes to come and pay homage to Buddha or the holy persons who received his doctrine. Besides, the Buddhists have created legions of divinities, bearing the name of Brahmā's dwelling in different places. This shows, once more, how necessary it is to place before the birth of Buddhism, the Vedic texts, in which we see the gradual formation of the doctrine of the Brahma, the *ἔν καὶ πᾶν*, since the new religion is even of later date than the creation of the popular Brahmā derived from the former.

It has been our aim to give an *exposé* in these pages of Oldenberg's views on the historical genesis of the great Indian doctrines. At one period, when the work of the learned professor was unknown to us, we attempted a similar essay in our "Théodicée de la Bhagavadgîtâ, étudiée en elle-même et dans ses Origines" (Paris: Louvain. 1884). Our conclusions are not quite identical. We believed, and still believe, that the Vedic hymns are all impregnated with pantheism, which in the recent hymns seems already perfectly conscious and deliberate (*vide* "Théod." p. 15 and 23, *conf.* Bourquin's "Le Panthéisme dans les Védas," Gough's "The Philosophy of the Upanishads"—with whom we agree in this point). It is quite allowable to say in a certain sense, with M. Barth, that "India was pantheistic from its cradle" (*vide* "The Religions of India.") Contrary to Dr. Oldenberg, we still think that from the epoch of the ancient Upanishads there was no longer admitted any veritable reality outside the universal Being. Moreover, the text analysed by Oldenberg seems to go against himself. On the other hand, the way in which he explains the origin of the ideas of the *Atmâ* seems to us the best up to the present day. In our "Théodicée" it was laid down as derived from the subjective element contained in that of the Brahma. As to this latter, our theory did not differ essentially from that of the learned professor. The explanations of Pessimism given on the one side and the other are a sort of complement to each other.

3. After sketching the internal history of the religious life

among the Hindus, Professor Oldenberg goes on to show us the practical results they drew from it. If the *Atmâ* was everything, if anything else was valueless, it was quite natural to renounce all pursuit of earthly vanities. In fact, the goods of this world were vain, not only when thrown into the balance with the superior goods of another existence, but vain in an absolute manner, void of all reality. Accordingly at this period there might have been seen a crowd of Brahmins, and even kings and ladies, turning away from the comforts of life—some to lead a wandering life away from their families and begging their food; others withdrawing alone, or with their wives, into solitary forests, where they sheltered themselves under huts of branches and leaves, and fed on the roots and wild fruits. Little by little, the forms of this ascetic kind of life were developed, communities sprang up which freed themselves from the authority of the Vedas. It is in the East that the origin of these later phenomena must be sought. There minds are less vigorous, and, on the other hand, the power of the Brahmins is lessened. The king and the people count for more. In the West, it is speculative questions which occupy the minds of the *élite* of the nation; here they are turned into vital questions for the people. Less notice is bestowed upon the Universal Being, in order that all the attention may be turned to the ideas concerning the misery of existence, moral retribution, deliverance. It does not seem as if political or social revolutions had contributed in anything to stir up the disposition of mind we have just described. Without doubt at that time we come across despotic government in India as in all the East. The people vegetate in servile subjection; generous voices raise themselves in behalf of the poor and the little ones; but, strange to say, it is not among them that there is noticeable any tendency to renounce the struggle for life. It is rather among the fortunate ones of the world, who exchange their existence, void of work and noble ambition, for the rigours of mortification and an absolute renunciation.

Very soon there spring up on different sides masters who, objecting to the Vedic tradition, pretend to have found the true way of salvation. A throng of disciples join them, with whom they traverse the country. Among them we meet the Nigganta (men free from bonds), the Acelakas (the nude), &c. These voluntary ascetes received the names of Samana (in Sanscrit, *Çramana*) to distinguish them from the Brahmins, who were dedicated from their birth to a life of religion. One of these masters, these Saviours of the World, was Buddha. He was the Samana of the race of the *Çakyas*; he was called like the rest "the enlightened" (*buddha*), the conqueror (*jina*). The ways traced out by these masters for their followers who were eager



for salvation are simply legion. Some delivered themselves up to severe austerities, depriving themselves for long spells of all nourishment, lying upon thorns, not allowing themselves to sit down or to wash; others, persuaded of the purificative virtue of water, washed themselves ceaselessly; others were absorbed in the contemplation of a fixed idea, as, for instance, "the infinity of space," "the infinity of reason," "the not-anything-ness." At times there were very strange saints among these venerable personages: such, for instance, as the "cock" saint and the "cow" saint. The former had made a vow to peck his food, stretched upon the ground, and to imitate cocks in every possible way.

Besides this great movement there remains the task of describing the sophists, the dilettanti of logic, labouring to prove the pro and contra at one and the same time, denying free-will, moral retribution, and attacking everything which among all others was held in religious veneration.

CHAP. II.—1. Professor Oldenberg's Critical Basis. 2. Buddha's Early Life; the Buddhahood. 3. Buddha's Work and Death.

1. After this introduction—long, it is true, but indispensable for the right understanding of Buddhism—Professor Oldenberg undertakes the task of sketching the historical career of the founder. In the first place he gives an account of, and combats, M. Sénart's system. We need not occupy our attention with this controversy. He then offers his own system, from which we translate the following passage in its entirety: "The most ancient traditions of Buddhism have been preserved in Ceylon, and have been studied up to the present day by the monks of that island. Whilst in India itself, the Buddhist texts have undergone fresh changes from age to age, whilst the memory of the ancient community there disappeared more and more under the effect of the fantastic poetry of succeeding generations, the Ceylonese community remained faithful to the Word of the Ancients (Theravāda). The dialect itself in which these traditions are handed down, contributed to preserve them unaltered. It was the language of Southern India, whose communities and missions had naturally taken the initiative, or at least had the greatest share in the conversions of the island. This language—the "Pāli" of the texts brought from Southern India—was revered in Ceylon as a sacred language. It was believed to have been spoken not only by Buddha but by all the Buddhas of past epochs. The indigenous religious literature, handed down in the language of the country, has been capable of admitting legends and speculations of a more recent date; but the Pāli texts have been kept free from these innovations. Accordingly, it is the Pāli traditions we must first of all interrogate, if we wish to know



whether or not the traditions of Buddha and his life have been preserved."

We see here first of all that from the very origin, as far back as we can trace the expression of religious feeling among the Buddhists, they had the firm conviction that the source of saving knowledge and of a saintly life was the word of a master—a founder—who is designated as the "Exalted One" (Chagavâ), or he who knows—the "Enlightened One" (Buddha). He who wishes to be received into the spiritual confraternity pronounces the following words three times: "I take my refuge in Buddha; I take my refuge in his doctrine; I take my refuge in his community." In the fortnightly confession, the ritual of which belongs to the most ancient documents of the Buddhist common life, the monk who conducts the ceremony exhorts the members present to conceal no sin whatsoever; for silence in this case is lying. "Voluntary lying, O brethren, brings destruction, so spoke the Exalted One." This same ritual makes the monks who confess false opinions say: "It is thus I understand the teaching which the Exalted One has announced, &c." As the source of truth and sanctity, there is everywhere given, not an impersonal revelation of individual reflexion, but the person, the word of the Master—of Buddha. And this master is not spoken of as a person who lived in the far past, but as a man who belonged to a quite recent period. From his death till the Council of the 700 ancients at Vesâli (towards 380 B.C.), one century is reckoned; it may be looked upon as proved that the great mass of the sacred texts, in which from one end to the other the person and doctrines of the master form the central point, and in which his life and death are spoken of, were composed previous to this meeting. The most ancient elements of these texts—such, for instance, as the ritual, of which mention has just been made—approach much nearer the end than the beginning of the century which succeeded the founder's death. Accordingly the time which separates the witnesses whom we have to consult from the times of which they have to speak to us, is short enough: it is hardly longer than the period which intervenes between the death of Jesus and the composition of the Gospels. But is it credible that this brief period of time would have sufficed to efface so deeply authentic souvenirs of the life of Buddha, as that they could be replaced by the poetical adventures of a solar hero? Observe that this very thing must have happened among an association of ascetics, who, in the literature created by them, show themselves intent upon anything rather than upon these myths of Nature.

The author afterwards draws an argument from a concordance

in the Jaina and Pāli texts. Nātaputta, a founder of a sect analogous to the Buddhists, died, according to both, in the town of Pāvā. "This accord," he says, "of the two traditions upon an accessory circumstance of this nature makes us feel that we are upon the firm ground of historical reality."

"It is evident," he continues, "that Buddha was a chief of monks of the same type as this Nātaputta. Bearing the costume and the other insignia of the ascetics, he went about from place to place, teaching and gathering around him a body of disciples, for whom he prescribed simple rules, just as was done by the Brahmans and other leaders of monastic communities. I think that at the worst we can admit this as certain, with all the certitude obtainable in this order of things. But have we by this reached the limit of our possible knowledge on the matter? In the mass of legends which tradition offers us, can we not discover more numerous and better defined traits of historical reality—traits which clothe and vivify the outline we have just traced?"

2. To answer this question, we will now proceed to describe more amply the aspect of this tradition. First of all, we must notice this one great fact:—A biography of Buddha, dating from ancient times, from the period of the Pāli texts, has not been handed down to us; we can add, with certainty, that such a biography has never existed. This is easily explained. The idea of a biography was foreign to the minds of those times. The idea of considering the life of a man as a whole—of comprising it wholly within the sphere of a literary work, which nowadays seems the natural thing to do, had not yet occurred to the mind of any one in those times. Add to this, that then far greater importance was attached to the teaching of the master than to the events of his life. It was in no ways different in the Early Christian community and in the school of Socrates. Long before the life of Jesus was written, as we have it in the Gospels, there was in the nascent Churches a collection of the words and discourses of the Saviour. (*Λόγια Κυριακά*). The narrative element added to these collections was confined to the exterior circumstances necessary for explaining what had given occasion to these discourses. There was no pretence made to historical arrangement or to chronological fidelity. The same is to be said of the "*Memorabilia*"\* of Socrates, by Xenophon. Socrates' manner of teaching is here shown by an abundant store of the master's conversations. As to his life, neither Socrates himself nor any of his school have dreamt of handing it down to us. What motive was there to

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\* We leave this absolute parallelism to the entire responsibility of the author.

urge them to it? The person of Socrates drew disciples by the words of wisdom that fell from his lips, not by the circumstances surrounding his exterior life.

The development of the traditions relative to Buddha corresponds as exactly as possible to these two parallel illustrations. Very early on, the master's discourses began to be fixed and repeated—at least those of his discourses composed according to the model of earlier ones. The place in which he spoke was not overlooked; neither was the person whom he had instructed. These circumstances were necessary to settle the situation in a concrete way, and to raise above any doubt the authenticity of the master's words. Less account was made as regards the time. The accounts begin thus: "At one time, or at that time, the august Buddha was staying in such or such a place." Such an indication of time is none at all. Besides, India has never had any genius for the historical side of things. It must likewise be admitted that in the life of an ascetic, like that of Buddha, one year passed after another with such monotony, that perhaps the community were right in not answering the question as to when such and such a thing occurred, or such and such a word had been said, or in supposing that the possibility of such a question being asked would never be dreamt of.

Certain events in the course of his life of wanderings—encounters with certain doctors, with certain temporal authorities—were attached to the remembrance of certain discourses actually pronounced or entirely invented. It is easy to understand that the beginning of his public life, the conversion of his first disciples, and then his farewell words to them, and finally his death, should take the first place in these souvenirs. Thus we have biographical fragments, which were not formed into a complete biography till long after. Comparatively few are the fragments of the first part of the life of Buddha obtainable from ancient sources, *i.e.*, of the life which preceded his public teaching, or—to speak as the Hindus—which preceded the time when he raised himself to the dignity of Buddha. It was the period when he was still searching for the liberating knowledge which was to make him doctor of the world of men and of gods. That we hear less of these days is explicable. The community did not take such a strong interest in the person of the earthly child or youth of the Çākya race, as in the "august, holy, universal Buddha." They wanted to know what he said, beginning from the time he became Buddha. Before that everything else, even the struggle he had to undergo to attain the state of Buddha, falls into the background. It was only in the succeeding centuries, when marvels of quite another aspect to those of primitive times had been accumulated, that the child of benedic-

tion was surrounded by creations of an unbridled and dissolute imagination.

3. Let us now turn to tradition, that is, the ancient tradition, such as it is depicted for us by the Pāli texts, in order to determine what may be the nature of the mythical elements which it contains.

It can easily be understood that to people of such religious feelings as the Buddhists, the earthly existence of the Deliverer of the World should appear even externally an event of unequalled importance.

The Hindu, accustomed even to the present day to observe the least signs attending the ordinary things of daily life, would never for an instant have imagined that the conception of the august, holy, and universal Buddha could have taken place without being accompanied by signs and marvels with which the universe itself would celebrate the happy event. An immense glory fills the whole of creation; the worlds tremble; the four divinities watching over the four regions of heaven descend upon earth to watch over the mother in labour. The marvels attending the birth are no less great. The Brahmins enumerate the physical signs which foretell the happy or unhappy fate of a man. The new-born Buddha should naturally possess in the highest degree all the marks of a happy augury, seeing he was to be a universal monarch. The interpreters of the signs said: "If he chooses the life of the world, he will reign over the universe; if he renounces the world he will become the Buddha."

Professor Oldenberg admits also that the Buddhist legend is not entirely exempt from elements borrowed from the ancient Nature myths, as they had been transported to the idea of the universal monarch. But, he says, the primitive sense of these ideas was lost; and it is only in passing by diverse intermediaries that these traits which were destined to glorify the Buddha can be connected with the poetic reveries of the priests and people of Vedic times, which themselves bring us back to the times when the different peoples issuing from the Indo-European stem had popularly dramatized the adventures of the Solar Hero. "Such," says Oldenberg, "is the amount of truth which cannot be denied to the theory of S  nart, concerning the solar character of the Buddha. There is a second group of legendary traits," he continues, "the historical character of which may be called in doubt." The traditional elements of which we have just spoken are derived from the general idea of the Buddha's power and greatness. These latter, on the contrary, stand out as more important, and draw their origin in part from the theological attributes which the Buddhist speculations recognized in the *holy*, the *wise*, the *freed one*, and in part from the ordinary facts

in the external life of the ascetic. The legend could very naturally conclude from it that these attributes and facts cannot have been wanting in the life of the Buddha, the ideal ascetic. That which makes the Buddha, according to the very meaning of the name, is Knowledge. He does not possess this knowledge, like Christ, in virtue of the metaphysical excellence of a nature raised above humanity : on the contrary, it had to be acquired, or rather to be conquered. The Buddha is at the same time the JINA, *i.e.*, the Conqueror. Consequently, in the history of the Buddha, the account of his struggle should precede that of his career as Buddha.

But a combat presupposes an enemy : a conqueror, one that is conquered. The Prince of Life should be opposed by the Prince of Death. We have seen how, in the mind of the Hindu, the identification of the kingdom of death and kingdom of life is brought about : we recall to mind the  *rôle*  of the god of death in the Vedic fable of Naciketas, to whom the god promises a long life and the enjoyment of all delights to make him renounce the obtaining of knowledge. In the same way there advances towards the ascete aiming at the possession of the dignity of Buddha, Mâra—death, the master of earthly pleasures, which are nothing else than death in disguise. Step by step Mâra follows his enemy, awaiting the moment of weakness when he can become master of his soul. But this moment does not come ; Buddha remains unhurt, in spite of his enemy's vain temptations and many fierce attacks. When on the point of seizing the object of his efforts—the knowledge of salvation—Buddha is attacked by Mâra, who strives by alluring words to turn him from the true path. It is in vain : Buddha obtains the knowledge, and with it the highest sanctity. The account of the Singhalese community does not differ from the simplicity of these details.

The method thus traced does not always leave us, however, without a certain amount of doubt. In each particular case in which it may have been successfully shown that the events of the life of Buddha are identical with the events of the life of the Hindu ascetic, one can draw conclusions in two ways. Either they form souvenirs worthy of belief, since we know things ordinarily occur in this way ; or else they do not, just because we know that such was the ordinary course of things after Buddha, and because the legend of his life was obliged to imagine facts of this kind. It is simply impossible to decide, in particular cases, which of these conclusions is preferable. Having arrived at this point the argument must at one time stop before impassable limits ; at another it may at least decide which of the two alternatives presents the greater probability. But here, it will

not be possible to put aside subjective impressions, which mix themselves up in the reasonings drawn from the facts themselves.

Abstracting from the traditional elements, in which we have recognized a fabulous character, or at least suspected one, there remains for us, as the kernel of the accounts relative to Buddha, a series of positive facts, which we believe, with much reason, may be called a material, however meagre, definitely acquired for history.

We know the country of the Buddha and the family from which he sprang. We are enlightened concerning his parents, his mother's early death, and concerning his mother's sister who brought the child up. We have a number of analogous *data* which refer to the different parts of his life. It would be inconceivable, that even in India the community which took the name of the son of the Çâkyas would not have kept intact the memory of the most considerable personages in his company and of the most important external events in his life. Who would venture to maintain that in the Early Christian Churches, the memory of Mary and Joseph, Peter and John, Judas and Pontius Pilate, Nazareth and Golgotha, would not be preserved, and that they should be replaced by imaginative beings and places? Here, more particularly, the simple facts should be simply admitted.

After having in this way developed his views on the value of the Buddhist tradition, Professor Oldenberg sketches the life itself of Buddha. For our part, we content ourselves with indicating briefly the facts which he recounts, our object being merely to give an account of his way of understanding Buddhism.

PH. COLINET.

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## ART. VI.—THE “TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.”

*Doctrina Duodecim Apostolorum*, Canones Apostolorum Ecclesiastici, ac reliquæ doctrinæ de Duabus Viis Expositiones veteres. Edidit F. X. FUNK. Tübingæ: H. Laupp. 1887.

IN the year 1873, Bryennios, now the Greek Metropolitan of Nicomedia, discovered a manuscript of considerable value in the Jerusalem Monastery at Constantinople, where he was professor. The library in which it was found had not been unknown to the learned of Western Europe; yet it had hitherto concealed the most important addition which has been made in modern times to the very scanty literature of early Christianity. The volume in question yielded, amongst other matters of interest, the complete text of St. Clement's Epistle, to which we had occasion to refer in a late number of this REVIEW. But Bryennios also recognized in the title of another tract which it contained—“Teaching of the Twelve Apostles” (*Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων*)—a work placed by early writers only just below the canonical books of Scripture, and long believed to be lost to the world. By a singular coincidence, Krawutsky, a Catholic scholar, had, almost at the same time, succeeded in reconstructing a great part of the work from the later compilations which had borrowed from it. In 1883, Bryennios introduced his discovery to the world, accompanying it with learned notes and prolegomena; and it may be safely said that no work has in our days received so much attention from theological students. Nineteen editions, or translations, have been published in Europe and America, while the articles and essays which have been written upon it can hardly be numbered. Some of the questions it raises, and its bearing on the religious controversies of our own time, claim the attention of Catholic readers, independently of its interest as a very early monument of primitive Christianity. We are, therefore, glad to have the opportunity of reviewing the edition before us, which has been lately published by the learned successor of Hefele in the Catholic faculty of Tübingen. Those who are acquainted with his scholarly edition of the Apostolic Fathers, will know that they may look for a high standard of excellence in the present volume; and they will not be disappointed. We cannot do better, upon the whole, than take him as our guide, in giving the general reader some idea of the probable date and origin of the work, and its bearing upon the religious controversies of to-day. A book that is classed by Eusebius with the Apocalypse, and by St. Athanasius with the Deutero-canonical



books of Scripture, must in any case be very ancient. Its date may be more nearly ascertained by comparing it with the Shepherd of Hermas, and the so-called Epistle of Barnabas. It is almost certainly quoted by the former; as to Barnabas, a comparison shows the "Teaching" is the original work from which the Epistle has borrowed largely. Even Harnack, the most strenuous and able defender of the priority of Barnabas, has recently admitted that both are alike derived from a Jewish manual. This would give about A.D. 120, as the latest date at which the Didache could have been published, and for any further information we are reduced to the very uncertain indications of internal evidence. For reasons which will presently appear, Catholics and High Church Anglicans have, on the whole, inclined to as early a date as possible, while Lutherans and Dissenters have put it later. We shall be safe in following our editor, who fixes no more precise date than the latter half of the first century. It is commonly assigned to Egypt, but Funk considers it to have been written in Palestine, from the special mention of Pharisees, and a reference to corn grown on the mountains.

Dr. Taylor, in his very interesting lectures at the Royal Institution, first argued in favour of the Jewish origin of the book, and the same idea has been put forward in an able article in the *Church Quarterly Review* (April 1887) to account for many of the difficulties which it raises. But the passages that savour of Judaism may be more plausibly explained by supposing the author to have been a converted Jew, using the language familiar to those around him, while there are many references to St. Matthew's Gospel and to other parts of the New Testament which could only come from a Christian. The purpose of the work is catechetical and practical, the first part at any rate answering to St. Athanasius' description, that it was used for the instruction of catechumens, while the remainder is not put forward with any appearance of completeness.

We will now proceed to give a brief analysis of the work as a whole, and then dwell in detail upon the points which have excited most attention and controversy. Those of our readers who wish to study it more carefully will find every facility for doing so in the excellent edition with the Latin version now before us, and in the English translations, of which several have appeared in the last few years.

The work opens with the words: "There are two ways, one of life, the other of death;" a figure used frequently in the Old Testament,\* and adopted by our Lord and the Apostles, so that

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\* e.g., Ps. i. 1, Ps. cxviii., Jerem. xxi. 8.

the very phrase, "the way" (ἡ ὁδός) was employed by St. Luke\* as a name for the Christian religion. The way of life is then shortly defined to be the two-fold precept of charity, the golden rule being expressed negatively ("what things soever thou desirest not be done unto thee, do thou not unto another"). Then follow, as far as the end of the fourth chapter, the details of the precept of charity, and next a brief but vivid description of the "way of death," reminding one of St. Paul's account in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans; there is also a short explanation that all the precepts are not universally binding. It would appear, from the opening words of the seventh chapter ("say first all this, and baptize . . ."), that this first part of the work was an abridgement of the moral teaching of Christianity for the use of catechumens. The form of the sacrament of baptism is given in the words of St. Matthew (xxviii. 19).† Running water is to be used if possible, and cold water in preference to warm. If sufficient water is not available for immersion, it is to be poured on the head thrice, this being by far the earliest and most certain testimony to baptism by aspersion or affusion. These minute directions and the general command to baptize are also a sufficient evidence that lay baptism was, at least sometimes, permissible. The person to be baptized, and the minister of the sacrament, are both to be fasting, the former for two days; those who assist are also to fast if possible. There are to be two fast-days in each week, "not with the hypocrites (*i.e.*, Pharisees), for they fast on Monday and Thursday, but do you fast on Wednesday and Friday." Nor are the faithful to pray like the hypocrites, but the Lord's Prayer is to be said thrice each day. This ends with the Doxology, which, being repeated after two other prayers in this book, evidently did not form part of the original Pater Noster. The three hours of prayer in the day are no doubt the third, sixth, and ninth hours, so frequently mentioned in the Acts and by early Christian writers. The account of the Eucharist, which comes next, is the most obscure part of the book. It will be enough to say that in our opinion it was intended for the use of the faithful, not of the ministers. This will account for its consisting only of two prayers, one to be said in connection with the Chalice, the other with the Host;‡ a prayer follows for use after the Agape,§ if not after the communion.

\* In Acts ix., xxii., xxiv.; cf. 2 Pet. ii. 5., 1 John i. 5-7.

† But the expression, "to be baptized in the name of Christ," is also given as equivalent.

‡ περὶ τοῦ κλίσματος: a word not used in this sense elsewhere. The prayers were probably said before consecration; such is, at least, the opinion of our editor, and of Bickell, a considerable authority.

§ μετὰ τὸ ἐμνησθῆναι.

The Liturgy had evidently been already fixed ; for a discretionary power was reserved to a class not hitherto mentioned—the Prophets—to offer what prayers they will.\* Some surprise has been expressed at the omission of the words of institution ; but it was hardly possible we should find them in an elementary treatise when they are omitted even in liturgies of much later date.† The greatest difficulty in this section is the inverse order in which the Sacred Elements are spoken of. There is, so far as we know, no other instance in which the Chalice is spoken of before the Host ; and we can only suppose there has been accidental misplacement.

The "Teaching" next passes on to describe the different grades in the Church ; but this is prefaced by a very important caution, almost identical with the language of St. John and St. Paul, that the very first requisite to be looked for in a new teacher is conformity with doctrine already known to be revealed.

Whosoever shall come and teach you all that hath been said so far, receive ye him ; but if the same teacher turn away, and teach another doctrine, so as to destroy the former, hearken not unto him.

This is followed by instructions how the apostles and prophets are to be received, "according to the command of the Gospel."‡ We are told that every "apostle is to be received as the Lord ;" but that he is only to stay one day, or at most two ; "if he stay three days, he is a false prophet ;" again, "if he asks for money, he is a false prophet."

The manner in which prophets are to be received is described in more detail. Every one known to be a prophet is not to be proved when he "speaks in the spirit."§ There are certain tests, however, to which those who speak in the spirit must correspond, before they can be received as true prophets. They may be known by their fruits : even though they teach the truth, if they do not practise what they teach, they are false prophets. Especially any attempt to obtain money or food for themselves condemns them.

All strangers who "come in the name of the Lord" are to be hospitably received ; if they are travellers, to be helped as far as

\* Prof. Funk compares this with a similar power he understands St. Justin (Apolog. i. 67) allows to the bishop. The meaning of the words referred to is at least doubtful. (Cf. Otto's note, *in loc.*) It seems to us more probable that St. Paul's warning to those who possessed the gift of tongues is a closer parallel (1 Cor. xiv. 16)—*ἐπεὶ εὐλογῆς τῷ πνεύματι, ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου πῶς ἐρεῖ τὸ ἀμὴν ἐπὶ τῇ σὴ εὐχαριστίᾳ* ;

† Hammond : "Antient Liturgies," p. 59.

‡ Apparently referring to such passages as Matt. x. 5, 12 ; or Luc. ix. 1-6. This seems a parallel to St. Paul's language in 1 Cor. xiv. 37, concerning the Charismata.

§ Cf. 1 Cor. xii. 3 ; Apoc. i. 10, iv. 2, &c.

possible ; but are not to tarry longer than two, or at most three, days. But if he wish to stay, and is an artisan, "let him work and eat." If he know no handicraft, he is to be judiciously provided for, "so that no Christian may live among you idle."

Every true prophet, wishing to remain in any place, is to be supported ; the first fruits of all the produce of the earth are to be given to the prophets—"for they are your high priests." So, too, the teachers (of whom we now hear for the first time) are worthy of their living ; if there be no prophet to support, the first fruits are to be given to the poor.

The author of the "Teaching" next passes to the subject of public worship ; and his words are of sufficient importance for us to transcribe the whole passage :

On each Lord's Day meet together, break bread, and give thanks ; first confessing your trespasses, in order that your sacrifice may be clean. Let any one that hath a difference with his comrade not join you until they are reconciled, so that your sacrifice be not defiled ; for this is the sacrifice that hath been spoken of by the Lord ; in every place and time to "offer a clean sacrifice : because I am a great King, saith the Lord, and My name is wonderful among the nations." Elect, therefore, for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord . . . for they too minister unto you the ministry of the prophets and teachers. Contemn them not, for they are the men honoured among you, together with the prophets and teachers.

Then follows an exhortation to fraternal correction ; and the work ends with a warning to be always ready, for the troubles of the latter days, and the coming of the Lord, are at hand.

Even those who have no further acquaintance with the "Teaching" than this brief analysis, which is all we are able to give, will notice the new and unexpected light it throws upon the different ecclesiastical grades in the primitive Church. Presbyters are not mentioned at all, *ἐπίσκοποι* and *διάκονοι* being the only two sacred orders spoken of with which we are familiar. This might have been anticipated in a document contemporaneous with the earliest Apostolic Fathers. But no one was prepared for the prominence given to apostles, prophets, and teachers, which is, on any hypothesis, remarkable. As might have been expected, attempts have been made to harmonize their position with every religious system of the present day. The most important of these attempts, in consequence of the learning and ingenuity of its author, is that of Professor Harnack. He had embraced eagerly the theory of the Christian ministry put forward by Dr. Hatch in the Bampton Lectures for 1880. Starting from the names of the different Christian ministers, Dr. Hatch showed, with great learning, that *ἐπίσκοπος* was a title given to the presiding officer of many heathen charitable associa-

tions. He next passed to St. Justin's account of the reception of alms by the bishop in the Christian assemblies, and argued that the bishop was originally the administrative officer of the community, presiding over the deacons, and that his conducting the services followed thereon. The term presbyter on the contrary, he admitted, is of Jewish origin; the elders being chiefly concerned with the exercise of discipline. Professor Harnack laid even greater stress upon the essential difference, and almost opposition, between the presbyters and the "episcopo-diaconal organization." Until the *Didache* was published he could not account, to his own satisfaction, for the prominent part taken by the bishop in public worship. He then concluded that there were originally two kinds of ministry in the primitive Church—viz., apostles, prophets, and teachers who taught, preached, and conducted public worship; and bishops, deacons and presbyters, whose functions were administrative. By degrees, he supposed, the bishops drew to themselves the spiritual functions of the former class of ministers; and "the apostolic succession took the place of the Charismata."

Catholicism [he says] is right in supposing that all the essential elements of its ecclesiastical order pre-existed in germ in the apostolic age; but it is a fiction to trace the combination of these elements as far back as that period. This combination is the root of the matter, and Protestantism is right, as against Catholicism, in affirming the independent authority of "the ministry of the Word" not derived from men.

To this Lutheran conception of the Christian ministry, Harnack has since added subsidiary hypotheses, of which the most interesting is an account of the origin of the Lectorate,\* which he endeavours to show is lineally derived from the Charisma of teaching. It is a great advantage to have these views advocated with such learning and ability, which call our attention to details of primitive Christianity we might otherwise have overlooked. But we may fairly say our greatest gain is to find that even Harnack cannot establish the thesis he sets himself to prove. The very starting point of Dr. Hatch's theory may be at the least pronounced unproved. A not unfriendly critic has pointed out † that there is very little evidence indeed of the use of the term *ἐπίσκοποι* for the administrators of the funds of heathen societies; and even that little points to their having been overseers of *persons*, rather than of works. But were the theory fully

\* "Texte und untersuchungen." *Gesch. der Altchrist. Literatur*, von O. von Gebhardt und A. Harnack. Bd. ii. Heft. 5. 1886.

† Dr. Sanday: *Expositor*, Feb. 1887.

proved, it would argue nothing as to the Christian use of the word. Ἀπόστολος was used by the Jews for those who brought the tithes and other dues up to Jerusalem,\* but no one thinks of this as an argument against the spiritual office of the Apostles. The word ἐπίσκοπος occurs so frequently in the LXX. that it is far more likely to have been derived from the Old Testament than from heathen use; and this probability becomes almost a certainty when we find St. Clement and St. Irenæus expressly deriving it from Isaias. But, indeed, we may go much farther, and point out that in the New Testament itself the word ἐπίσκοπος has an undoubtedly spiritual connotation when it is applied by St. Peter to the Father,† and when St. Paul defines the office of bishops to be the government of the Church. We are inclined to think Professor Salmon's language is not too severe‡ when he accuses Dr. Hatch of excluding the light which the New Testament throws upon this subject, and adds: "This is just what one does when one wants to exhibit fancy pictures with a magic lantern." Thus, to take another instance, the sharp distinction this thesis demands between bishops and deacons on the one hand, and presbyters on the other, is entirely opposed to such passages as Acts xx. 17 and 28, and Tit. i. 5 and 7. It is true and interesting to remark, as Harnack points out, that the qualifications required in the pastoral epistles of bishops and deacons are much more alike than those expected of presbyters; but this is at least as well accounted for by the less violent supposition that the two former orders alone were concerned in the actual government of the faithful. Nor does the Didache itself give any support to the view, beyond proving that the prophets of whom it speaks at least sometimes conducted public worship. That they did not always do so is clear from the First Epistle to the Corinthians, where St. Paul contemplates the case of women prophesying, yet distinctly bids them be silent in church. And the Didache itself, in spite of its brevity, bears unequivocal testimony of the same kind. It shows that there were communities in which there was, even then, no prophet; the faithful being directed in that case to give their alms to the poor. And in another passage, which we have also quoted above, after stating the precept binding the faithful to assist at the Sacrifice on the Lord's Day, the author adds, "Elect therefore for yourselves bishops and deacons," thereby showing what, in his opinion, as in that of St. Clement,§ was the chief function of these persons. The rapid disappearance of apostles, prophets, and teachers, as special grades in the Church, and the total absence of any evidence

\* Calmet: in 2 Cor. viii. 23.

‡ *Expositor*. July 1887.

† 1 Pet. ii. 25; cf. 1 Clem. i. 3.

§ 1 Cor. xlii. 4.



of such a struggle as must have taken place if they had been suppressed, are extremely strong objections to Harnack's view.

So far we are in complete agreement with Anglican writers on this subject, and we gladly acknowledge the learning and skill with which they have handled it.\* They hardly seem to us, however, to have realized the full importance and bearing of the condition of things which the Didache reveals. The reason is not far to seek. Dr. Sanday remarks that "in some respects the Non-conformist communities of our time furnish a closer parallel to the primitive state of things than an Established Church can possibly do." It is highly characteristic of the mental attitude of our countrymen, that he should never have turned his eyes to that Church, which is at once the greatest establishment and the largest missionary body in the world. Had he done so, some of the resemblances between the Catholic Church and the community for which the Didache was composed, lie so much on the surface, that he could hardly have failed to notice them. We are not aware, for instance, that any other Christian religious body sends out its missionaries in a state of voluntary poverty, and dependent upon alms, like the apostles and prophets in the book before us.† So, too, it is fully admitted by Anglicans that the apostles, prophets, and teachers of the Didache were endowed with special Charismata, or "gratiæ gratis datæ," direct miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit. It would indeed have been impossible to interpret otherwise the precise language of the Epistle to the Ephesians and the First to the Corinthians. But they go on to argue that the supreme power of the apostles and prophets is preserved in an episcopate, which, to do it justice, would be the first to repudiate the possession of any such gift.

The Catholic Church, on the contrary, claims that the apostolic Charisma is continued in the successor of St. Peter, and is shared by the episcopate in communion with him. Nor can any one say that this pretension is of recent origin. As soon as Gnostic and Marcionite pressure compelled Catholics to define and analyze the grounds of their faith, they felt the necessity of proving that it had been preserved unaltered; and this proof could only be based upon a living testimony. St. Polycarp had thought it enough to appeal to the continuity of tradition in the Church.‡ But, when

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\* We would refer our readers particularly to an able article in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April 1887, for the High Church Anglican treatment of the question.

† The link between these and our own missionaries is supplied by the interesting account given by Eusebius (H. E. iii. 37) of the "Evangelists," who distributed their goods to the poor and led a missionary life.

‡ Eusebius, H. E., iv. 2: *μίαν καὶ μόνην τάντην ἀληθείαν κηρύξας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παρεληφέναι, τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παραδεδομένην.*



the need for something more precise arose, St. Irenæus and Tertullian showed no hesitation in saying where the guardianship of such tradition lay. They narrowed their argument to this, that the communities guaranteed the inviolability of the apostolic deposit, because there was in them an "*ordo episcoporum ab initio decurrens*." St. Irenæus, in particular, as is well known, connected this descent from the apostles with the gift of infallibility—the "*Charisma veritatis certum*,"\* which he expressly derived from St. Paul's account of the Apostolic Charisma.† It was enough for his purpose to trace a lineal descent from the Apostles in one case—selecting the Bishops of Rome as the principal Church in the world. His well-known testimony on this subject has been so often disputed that it may be as well to quote Harnack's opinion of it:

St. Irenæus [he concludes] must have intended to say that, as a matter of fact within his ken, the faith of the Roman community was held to be the decisive rule, and that many communities had recourse to Rome to obtain recognition.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find Harnack considers that the first explicit claim to the apostolical succession was made by the Bishops of Rome. This is all the more remarkable, because it is clear that the antipope Hippolytus was at one with his opponent St. Callistus in claiming the apostolic character.‡ But there is sufficient evidence that the claim is a much earlier one. St. Clement's language is grammatically ambiguous (*τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν*, i. 44, 2), but his argument requires that those of whom he speaks should be successors of the Apostles. Hegesippus' catalogue of the Roman Pontiffs, and the importance he attached to it, would be inexplicable unless, like St. Irenæus, he considered the truth was preserved by their descent from St. Peter. When, therefore, we assert that the "*Charisma veritatis certum*" resides in the Apostolic See, and is the same gift as the Charisma of the Apostolate, we are but repeating the thoughts and language of the Catholics of the second century, and especially of St. Irenæus.

The prophets form a class, in St. Paul's enumeration so often

\* We have not the original Greek of this phrase; but it may be conjectured from the description of the creed as *κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκλυῆς* (i. 9, 4).

† "Paulus docens ait: Posuit Deus in Ecclesia primo apostolos, secundo prophetas, tertio doctores. Ubi igitur charismata Domini posita sunt, ibi discere oportet veritatem, apud quos est ea quæ est ab Apostolis successio" (iv. 33, 8).

‡ Philo. Præf. and ix. 11, 12. Tertullian did not venture to deny that the "*doctrina apostolorum*" was inherent in St. Callistus' office, but only denied him the "*potestas*." His mocking address to Callistus as "*Apostolice*" is very remarkable.

referred to, below the Apostles, but above the possessors of the Charismata.\* Their real character, and the nature of the special grace with which they were endowed, are more easily gathered from the numerous passages in which mention is made of them in the New Testament, than from the scanty notices in the Didache; though the discovery of that work has called attention to much that had previously passed unnoticed. In the first place it is clear that the gift of prophecy was not limited to either sex, or to any age.† The daughters of Philip are specially mentioned, and St. Paul incidentally speaks of women prophesying.‡ In one of the few glimpses of an infant community we find that there were in Antioch prophets and teachers, who are enumerated; the arrangement of the conjunctions (as Harnack points out) making it probable that Barnabas, Simon, and Lucius were the prophets, Manahen and Saul the teachers. We find prophets sometimes foretelling future events, sometimes (as Judas and Silas, Acts xv. 32) addressing words of exhortation to their brethren. The more abundant notices of the prophets in St. Paul's Epistles give us the same general idea of their office. In the Ephesians (iii. 6, 7) we find that the calling of the Gentiles has been made known to them in the Spirit. From the First Epistle to the Corinthians (chap. xiv.) we find that they spoke unto men edification, exhortation, and comfort; that they edified the Church; that they spoke by two or three, the rest discerning; prophesying one by one, so that all might learn and be comforted. If any unbeliever entered the assembly, the secrets of his heart were made known, and he was reprov'd by all. St. Timothy's calling had, in like manner, been manifested by prophecy. There is no suggestion in the New Testament that this gift should cease after the first establishment of the Church; and we find in ecclesiastical history unmistakable proofs of its continuance. It is true that the word "prophet" was very soon restricted to the prophets of the Old Testament; but the term "prophetic charisma" is often used; and we find the clearest affirmation of the existence of this gift in St. Irenæus and St. Justin. The latter in particular says that the gift of the Holy Spirit, which had been bestowed on the prophets of the old Law, ceased while our Lord was on earth, and was given again after His ascension. In proof of this statement he points to both men and women possessing the gift.§ Origen, in like manner, speaks of the vestiges still remaining, in his time, of the descent of the Holy Ghost, referring evidently to this and the other "*gratiæ gratis datæ.*" ||

\* 1 Cor. xii. 28. Harnack rightly lays stress upon the *πρῶτον, δεύτερον* and *τρίτον*; and upon the *ἐνεσθαι*, which separates them from all others mentioned. † Acts ii. 17, 18. ‡ 1 Cor. xi. 5.

§ Apol. cc. 82 and 88.

|| Ant. Cels. i. 46 and vii. 8.

But our fullest and most interesting information comes from Eusebius. Quadratus, apparently the bishop of that name, is spoken of as having the prophetic Charisma, as well as one Ammias. But the account of Montanism is most instructive. This sect was only possible, he says, because there were still in different churches very many "wonderful effects of the divine Charisma" (*παράδοξοποιῶν τοῦ θείου χάρισματός*). The orthodox writers, whose fragments Eusebius has preserved for us, argued against Montanus, Maximilla, and their followers with every weapon at their command. They pointed out that Montanus, a recent convert, had worked himself into a frenzy; that the matter of his prophecies was opposed to tradition and the teaching of the Church; that his own life and those of his followers were unworthy of true prophets (noticing particularly their avarice, which, it will be remembered, the Didache mentions as a test); they had taught the dissolution of marriage, and instituted fasts without authority; \* their predictions did not come true. But no one objects that the spirit of prophecy had ceased in the Church, which would have been a decisive argument to use. On the contrary it is objected by the Catholic Alcibiades that Montanus and Maximilla are the last of their race of prophets, whereas "the Apostle lays down, that the prophetic Charisma must remain in all the Church until the perfect 'Advent.'" We have dwelt upon this, because the present tendency is to look upon Montanism as a revival, and a return to primitive christianity; whereas it professed to have received a new revelation. It is at any rate decisive as to the belief in the early Church in the continued manifestation of the prophetic gift; a belief which has been handed down as part of the ordinary theology of the Church. † But it is probably true that the excesses of Montanism led to the disuse of the word prophecy for the gifts of discernment of hearts, spiritual exhortation and consolation, which we have seen made up the prophetic Charisma in the New Testament. In this sense it has not ceased, and never shall cease, in the Catholic Church until the second Advent. The mantle of Silas fell upon St. Francis of Sales; the spirit that rested on the daughters of Philip dwelt in St. Catherine of Sienna and St. Teresa. The glimpse given us

\* Dr. Salmon compares this with the institution of the feasts of Corpus Christi and the Sacred Heart at the instigation of women! It is to be hoped he has no idea with how much care and precaution the Church moves in such cases, and how far she is from allowing even the greatest saints to institute feasts on their own authority.

† St. Thomas expressly says: "*Singulis temporibus non defuerunt aliqui prophetiæ spiritum habentes, non quidem ad novam doctrinam fidei promovendam, sed ad humanorum actuum directionem*" (2a. 2æ, qu. 174, art. 5).

in the Didache of the infant Church is full of interest and value. But it is so only because we recognize the same spiritual lineaments that grace her full stature; the main difference being the greater abundance of those gifts in earlier times. At any rate, we who claim for the Church a permanent indwelling of the prophetic spirit, subject to the supreme authority of the Apostolate, are, *primā facie*, the true heirs of St. Irenæus and St. Justin.

The description of the Holy Eucharist as a sacrifice, which we have quoted in full, is a still more important testimony of the Didache to the Catholic faith. It will be noticed that the word sacrifice (*θυσία*) is twice repeated; moreover, the pronoun referring it to the sacrifice foretold by Malachias is also in the feminine (*αὐτὴ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ῥηθείσα*). The whole account derives still greater significance from its close resemblance to the well-known passages in St. Justin. In both we find two accounts of the Holy Eucharist treating separately of its ordinary celebration, and of the Sunday Liturgy; \* both quote the prediction of Malachi (St. Justin, it is true, in another work), both tell us that the term Eucharist was already applied to the sacred elements. It therefore makes it all the more certain that St. Justin was expressing the recognized teaching of the Church; the date of which is carried back at latest to the end of the first century—very far from Höfling's view, current among Protestants, that St. Cyprian was the first Father who knew anything of a Christian sacrifice. Harnack has recognized this with his usual frankness. He says: †

The conception of the Lord's Supper as a sacrificial action is found clearly in the Didache, in Ignatius, and above all in Justin. Clement of Rome also assumes it, since he compares the bishops and deacons with the priests and Levites of the old law, and points out that their chief function was *προσφέρειν τὰ δῶρα*.

This is not the place to discuss the sacrificial nature of the Holy Eucharist and the character of the Christian priesthood. It may be supposed that all that vast learning and ability can bring against the Catholic doctrine, is to be found in Dr. Lightfoot's "Essay on the Christian Ministry." If so, it is strange how little this comes to. He objects that the Pastoral Epistles are silent on the matter; whereas St. Paul's very first care (1 Tim. ii. 1) is to direct public worship, in words which signi-

\* Apolog. caps. 66 and 67. Is it not possible that the two Liturgies in the Apostolic Constitutions (in Books ii. and viii.) are connected with this seeming repetition in these earliest accounts of the Holy Eucharist; and that they all point to a primitive two-fold form of the Liturgy?

† "Dogmengeschichte," Bd. i. s. 152.

fied to Origen the several parts of the Liturgy. So, too, he accumulates evidence from the Scripture and Fathers, of the spiritual priesthood of all Christians, and the sacrifices they offer. This is but to waste time, as long as phrases are quoted which are taken verbatim, or equivalently, from the Old Testament; and would therefore be as fatal to a Jewish priesthood.\* The Christian Church, in union with its head, is a priestly race, and its every supernatural act is a sacrifice, in a far more real sense than was the case under the older covenant; but that is no more incompatible with the existence of a sacrifice and a priesthood, strictly so called, in the one dispensation than in the other. It is significant that no one more strongly emphasizes these facts than St. Justin and Tertullian, who also most clearly urged the sacrificial character of the Holy Eucharist.

This unequivocal testimony of the *Didache* to the Catholic faith is doubly precious to us, because it touches the Blessed Sacrament. Nothing more completely demonstrates to us the continuity of the Church of to-day with that built up on the apostles and prophets, than to find that the sun and centre of our own religious life was the source of light and devotion to the Christians of the earliest times. The manner in which the Blessed Sacrament is used to prove the resurrection of the body and other doctrines, the loving expressions concerning it which fall from the pen of St. Ignatius—above all, the reverent silence which, even in the face of persecution, sheltered the heavenly mystery from heathen derision and scorn; these things move a Catholic, as no other details of primitive Christianity can do. They teach him to realize, what indeed he knew before, though the details were hidden from his view, that he and the disciples of the Apostles have knelt at the very same altar, and that the Church of the Fathers is the home of the children of God.

J. R. GASQUET.

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\* It is satisfactory to find this recognized by Protestants, in the following sentence (*Expositor*, 1885):—The text (1 Pet. iii. 9) is used by polemical text-mongers as if overthrowing the Roman theory of an official hierarchy. They would probably be surprised to find that it comes from the law of Moses (Exod. xix. 6).

ART. VII.—WHERE ST. PATRICK WAS BORN.  
A LAST REPLY.

1. *Where was St. Patrick Born?* By the Very Rev. SYLVESTER MALONE, M.R.I.A., &c. DUBLIN REVIEW, October, 1886.
2. *Where was St. Patrick Born?* By the same. DUBLIN REVIEW, October, 1887.
3. *Where St. Patrick was Born.* By the Rev. COLIN C. GRANT. DUBLIN REVIEW, April, 1887.
4. *Trias Thaumaturga.* Colgan, Lovanii. 1647.

**A**LAS for Bath, its glory has departed! "All the Lives speak of a wonderful well in connection with St. Patrick's birthplace,"—we quote Father Malone,\*—"Surely we have something very suggestive in the 'Indian,' 'heavenly' waters of Bath." Alas for Bath, it can no longer boast of "the Indian waters" of the Celt, nor "the heavenly waters" of the Briton! It must rest content with its own old "thermal springs." Father Malone has hauled down his flag, and has gone. Bath had scarcely wakened up to the knowledge of the unexpected honour he had conferred upon it, the honour of being St. Patrick's birthplace, when both he and the honour have fled. Bath has good reason of complaint against this inconstant wooer. Bath has been jilted. He admits it. In his first article he devotes six pages to prove that Bath was St. Patrick's birthplace. But in the second article, forgetting those six pages, he now tells us:

The object of my article was to show that, while St. Patrick's birthplace was in Britain, it was not in North Britain, at Alclyde. . . . To prove this was the aim of my former article, whose net result may be given in my own words: "It is quite clear to my mind that Scotland or North Britain is not the birthplace of St. Patrick."

It was inconvenient to give the full quotation, as it agrees badly with what he says now. Here is what follows:

It is equally certain that South Britain, and most probably Somersetshire, was his native country; and with the evidence before us we cannot avoid connecting the particular spot of his birth with Bath, on the banks of the middle Avon.

Yet he was only playing with Bath; heaping upon it complimentary and poetic adjectives, which must needs leave it very lonely now and disconsolate. But, "it is an ill wind that blows

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\* The quotations from Father Malone are from the two articles that head this paper, to which the reader is referred.



nobody good," and Caerleon, in Monmouthshire, finds of a sudden a new glory added to it. It is now the birthplace of St. Patrick ! What Bath has lost Caerleon has gained. This time the colours are *almost* nailed to the mast. "I shall not," the writer says in the article of October last, "budge one yard nearer to Caledonia." We said *almost* nailed to the mast, for he may find excuse to budge further away. Was it not bold, after decamping so ingloriously from Bath, to hoist the same banner so defiantly just across the Bristol Channel? Yet he has now but the same soldiers, the same weapons, the same defences that played him so false before. We found blunders in quotation, blunders in translation, blunders in genealogy, blunders in geography, blunders in history. He makes no defence, no reply, but straightway flies away to Caerleon to contrive a structure on sand there. Understand, reader, that it is but a pleasant historical see-saw you have presented to you. Up Bath, down Kilpatrick; up Caerleon, down Kilpatrick; up any place, only down Kilpatrick. Guess what next. Who would have guessed Caerleon? Why not *Tyburn* next? You have the hill on which to set Nentur, and the *Campus Taberniae* all round: the Roman legions were there time after time; the Irish sea is not *far* off (?), &c. &c.

But let us see what brought us to Caerleon. We were led by many words, in a misty light, moonshine in fact, and, as we proceeded, things changed after the manner of the transformation scene in a pantomime—letters went and came, and words were altered. At last a great word was evolved. In the text it read: "*Benaventaberniae*," but in the Latin note: "*Beneventaberniae*." *Bena* was here, *Bene* there. *Bena* soon went to the wall. The "*Confessio*" of Patrick is credited with this word. No known edition has such a word. If not it ought, for our guide needs it. This great word he divides into two—*Beneventa Burrii*. But hold, hold: None of the old Lives make such a division. Listen to Father Malone: "The '*Beneventaberniae*' was, I suspect, originally *Beneventa Burrii*, or *Burriac*." What becomes of *Taberniae*? Why, bless you, *Ta* becomes *ta* and is stuck on to *Beneven*; as to *Bernia*, "*e*," he says, "is readily mistaken for *u*, and the Irish *n* is most like the archaic form of *r*," and so we have *Burriac*. It is but the feminine form (never used, but that is neither here nor there with our guide) of *Burrii*. Did St. Patrick, a Briton, and who read with St. Germanus in France, write his Latin in the suggested Irish mode? That is a trifle, by the way.

There are five old MSS. copies of the "*Confessio*," which writers specially refer to. Not one of them has "*Beneven*." The author of the Caerleon theory does not pretend they have. In arguing for his Bath theory, he himself writes *Bonnaven* some thirteen



times, and never at all Beneven. The last word, according to himself and to every writer, was some form of *Taberniae*—*ex. gr.*, *Tabern*, *Tiburniae*, *Tabuerni*, or such like. There are many copies of the Lives, and there is no example of beheading *Taberniae*, and tacking its head on to the tail of "*Beneven*." Critical surgery required the bold hand and steady nerve of Father Malone to perform this operation. Neither is there example in ancient or modern writer of the second name beginning with a B. Even if so, was there ever before such literary jugglery, as turning *Berniae*, or *Bern*, or *Buerni* into *Burrii*? Sleight of hand is credited with many wonderful feats, but the clumsiness of this one is too transparent to make it commendable.

Let us permit the author of the *Caerleon* theory himself to characterize this sort of dealing with names. In October, 1887, he said:

Now in changing *Bonnaven* into *Boulogne*, *Taberniae* into *Tarabauna*, and *Nentria* into *Neustria*, Dr. Lanigan offers a violence to language which cannot well be allowed (p. 315).

If an argument can be manufactured by saying that *Taburnia* was perhaps a mistake for *Urnia*, there is nothing that may not be proved, or rather, nothing can ever be proved (p. 325).

The application of his own words may, in this case, be best left to himself.

No matter how it was come by, we have now got *Beneventa Burrii*. "*Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas*," seems to be the motto of our guide. But the reader waxes impatient. Slow train: when do we get to *Caerleon*? Why, dear ignorant, this is *Caerleon*. Oh, ah, indeed! *Beneventa Burrii*. But how? How! Why Father Malone says so.

Let it be explained at once that *Caerleon* in ancient times did not lack names. *Burrium* was the name given by the Romans to the town of *Usk*, and *Isca* to the river *Usk*. *Caerleon* then was called *Isca*\* *Leg. II. Augusta* (the second Legion being stationed at it), *Iscaeleia Augusti* (variously spelt), *Isca Coloniae*, *Isca Silurum*, *Urbs legionis*, *Kair-lion*, &c. The *Itinerary of Antonine* and the *Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna* give three *Ventas* in Britain: *Venta Belgarum*, *Venta Icenorum*, and *Venta Silurum* (*i.e.*, *Caerwent*), and *Caerleon* is not one of them. *Antonine* gives but one *Bennavenna*, or *Beneventa*, and it is on the river *Nen* in *Northamptonshire*. In *Hardy's "Monumenta Historica Britannica"* we have an excerpt of all that any ancient

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\* "*Monumenta Historica Britannica*," pp. xxii., xxiii., and elsewhere. See also the *National Gazetteer*, under the names of *Caerleon*, *Caerwent*, and *Usk*.

Greek or Latin writer has said about Britain or any place in it. We have also amongst the "Monumenta" Gildas, Bede, Nennius, the Saxon Chronicle, all in fact the oldest writers about England. There is no such name to be found as Beneventa Burrii. A search in Skene's "Four Ancient Books of Wales" proves equally fruitless. Neither does any writer call Caerleon Beneventa, nor, as far as I know, even Venta. The Bath theory required of necessity to give it names undreamt of before, "heavenly waters," and "Indian wells," and now the Caerleon theory requires an equally second imagination.

But how does the author of the theory bring Beneventa to Caerleon? We shall put what he says into the form of a syllogism, which is a very much commended method of argumentation. We thus get concisely what is given at greater length. The reader, gifted with a logical turn of mind, let him take heed. Major proposition: Banneventa is usually given as on the river Nen. Minor proposition: Polydore Virgil suggests that Banneventa was rather on the Wye. Conclusion: Therefore, concludes Father Malone, Beneventa is on the Usk. This latter is found to be the case, "though in a mangled and disjointed form, in the 'Confession' of our national apostle." Who can withhold his admiration from reasoning such as this!

Yet more: he claims to have the *ipse dixit* of the Saint! One dreads to think what conclusion it would be necessary to arrive at had such words been said, as the Saint is made to say. This is from article of October, 1886:—

"Who (his father) was of the village Bonnaven of the Indian wells (Bath); for he had a villa near (Bath), where I was made a captive!" The Saint went on to explain how his father, though a decurion of the senate at Bath, should be said to belong to, or connected with, one of a cluster of seats or a village at Bonnaven.

And this is from that of October, 1887:—

He (St. Patrick) states that his father had a villa near Usk. . . . It may be inferred that if the Saint, after saying that his father was of or in the Usk-Beneventa, were a native of it, he would have directly stated that he was captured there.

This is the awkward result of theory-mongering. Careful study and research and correct historical investigation would never lead one into such pitfalls and monstrous errors as we have found here, and as we shall still find in piteous abundance. The most ancient writer that has called Caerleon Beneventa Burrii, that has made this the birthplace of St. Patrick, that has placed the Campus Tabernaculorum betwixt Usk and Caerleon, that has said the Norman\* castle of Usk was Nentur, is none

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\* Vide the National Gazetteer.

other than Father Malone. No one else knew of such a name, or connected such facts with it. The invention is his, and therefore the whole credit thereof.

A very astonishing remark has to be made here. Although Father Malone has written two articles upon this subject, and attacks so groundlessly the claims of Kilpatrick, he actually does not know where Kilpatrick is. No wonder he found difficulties in its claims. He places Kilpatrick south of the Clyde! This is no printer's error of *south* for *north*, for he locates it with a description: "To move it" (the birthplace) he says, "from the holy tower of Dumbarton to Kilpatrick, on the south of the Clyde." Note that.

We have to direct our attention to some objections raised against Kilpatrick as the birthplace of the Saint. These objections have been mostly advanced before, and have been answered. They make nothing in favour of the Caerleon or any other theory, but are meant to bear against Kilpatrick.

1. We are told "that Corotic, whom St. Patrick styles impliedly a fellow-citizen, was a native of Wales," and the conclusion is sought to be drawn that the Saint also was a native of Wales, and not of Scotland. One very apparent and sufficient answer is that Wales and Strathclyde were both under the Romans, where the Saint and Corotic were born, and they were thus fellow-citizens. The very using of the word *con-cives* shows that this is what is meant, for the idea of citizenship did not belong to the aborigines of Britain. This very argument is made use of by our opponent in his first article. Some argue that Coroticus was an Armorican, some a Cornish, some a Welsh, and some a North-British prince. O'Hanlon very truly remarks, that "the name Corotic,\* Caretic, Ceretic, Cerdic, was one usual among the Britons, not only in Ceretica (Cardiganshire), but wherever there were people of that race." Caric in the Strathclyde Kingdom is said to be named after this Corotic. Modern research has let in a flood of light on the ancient history of Wales. Mr. Skene writes:—

The Welsh genealogies annexed to Nennius, as well as those in the tract on the Gwyr Gogledd, or men of the North ("Four Ancient Books of Wales," ii. 455), show us very clearly the native and the Roman party. The former are, in both documents, traced to Coil Hen, who is supposed to have given his name to the district of Kyle in Ayrshire. . . . The latter are brought by both from Dungual Hen, or the aged, but in this document he is made grandson of Maxim Guletic, or Maximus the Emperor; but in the former and older account, he is grandson of Ceretic Guletic, whose pedigree is traced from Confer

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\* O'Hanlon's "Lives of the Irish Saints," vol. iii. 742. n. 49.

or Cynfor, the reputed father of Constantine, who usurped the Empire in 405. This Ceretic, the Guletic or leader of the North Britons, being four generations earlier than Rhydderch, must have lived in the middle of the fifth century, and I do not hesitate to identify him with the Coroticus to whom St. Patrick addressed his letter written between 432 and 493.\*

But if Father Malone prefers Ceretic, from whom Cardiganshire is named, he was the son of Cunedda, and, according to all authorities, Cunedda† came with his sons from Manau Guotodin in Scotland, and expelled the Irish Picts from North and part of South Wales, about from 420 to 430. They became reguli there. The Welsh themselves agree that many North Britons became thus princes of Wales. This justifies what Joceline says in his Life of St. Patrick about Coroticus.

In controverting the claims of Kilpatrick the most astounding assertions are made. There is an attempt to argue that there was scarcely a Briton in Scotland, even though up to the Clyde was a British province of the Romans until after the Saint's birth. The Welsh were Britons *par excellence* even when they had to be delivered by the Scotch Britons from the Irish Picts. And as a climax in assertion, we are told that "North Britons could have meant those in North Wales," a good reason to prove that the birthplace was in *South Wales*! Rees, a Welsh writer, says:—

The name "North Britain" is used here indefinitely for any part of the country reaching from the Humber to the Clyde. . . . This tract was occupied by the Cymry, or Britons of the same race as those who now inhabit the Principality of Wales.†

Mark the *now*, and he gives a quotation from Sir Francis Palgrave's "History of the Anglo-Saxons," part of which we give:—

From the Ribble in Lancashire, or thereabouts, up to the Clyde, there existed a dense population composed of Britons. . . . Even in the tenth century, the ancient Britons still inhabited the greater part of the western coast of the island. . . . Strathclyde is, of course, the district or vale of Clydesdale. In this district, or state, was situated Alclud, or *Dunbritton*, now Dumbarton, where the British king usually resided, and the whole Cumbrian kingdom was not unfrequently called "Strath-Clyde."§

Not only Welsh, English, Scotch, but also Irish writers admit all this. They give us the same account of the British kingdom

\* Skene's "Celtic Scotland," i. 158.

† Rees' "Essay on the Welsh Saints," pp. 108-9, 135: Nennius in "Mon. Hist. Britannica," p. 56, C, 75 C.: Shearman's "Loca Patriciana," 450-1; Skene's "Four Ancient Books of Wales," i. 45, 77, 96.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 203.

§ *Ibid.* p. 204.

of Strathclyde, and of Wales. The leaders of the former people come and fight the battles of the latter against the Gwyddil-Fichti from Ireland. W. K. Sullivan says :—

One thing is certain : the traditions that form the basis of Welsh poetry and literature, and many of their laws, are not Welsh, but belong to their earlier conquerors, the Irish, or their later ones, the Strathclyde Britons. Of the proper traditions of the Silures and other races of Wales and the west of England scarcely a vestige remains; they have died out with the language which these races spoke. Mr. Basil Jones (*"Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd,"* p. 24) has also come to the conclusion that the Welsh have no history relating to the time previous to the period of Cunedda, and that the earliest Welsh legends are nearly all connected with South Wales or North Britain. . . . To the same period (the middle of the fifth century) must also be assigned, if not the first conquest of North Wales by the Britons of South Scotland under Cunedda, at least the extension of their sway over south-west Wales where they supplanted the Irish.\*

How different is this reading of history by men who have given years to the study of the oldest authorities of these kingdoms from the allegations of the writer of theories. Would not a wholesome course of historical reading be advantageous, ere a fresh theory be broached?

It is also thought to make us believe that Strathclyde and Alelyde were on the Clwyd in Wales; that Fiacc and the others are thus misapplied. Two references† are given us in proof. Wonders never cease. Skene, at the page named, says never a word on the subject. The other reference is to the Life of St. Cadoc. At the place cited, St. Cadoc is shown to be in Scotland, raises there a regulus to life, who is Caw, lord of Cwm Cawlwyd, in North Britain, well known as the progenitor of a large family of Welsh saints. Skene in one place makes this Caw a regulus from Renfrew on the Clyde. A sense of bewilderment comes over us on meeting such citing of authorities as this. Old Greek and Latin authors never name the Clwyd of Wales. It is likely a name brought by Cunedda's sons from their own northern Clyde, as they gave names like Cardigan to the country. The Irish knew too well the Northern Clyde. Their annalists give repeatedly the battles of the Strathclyde Britons, and the obits of the kings of Alelyde.

2. Father Malone says, "the country was pagan till about the year

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\* *"Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish,"* i., xl., xlviii.

† There is a reference to the *"Four Ancient Books of Wales,"* i. 73, where the subject is not mentioned; but at p. 173 the same story of Caw is given as in the other reference, *"Cambro British Saints,"* p. 351, and much said about the Strathclyde district of Scotland, and nothing of Wales.

400." St. Patrick's father being a deacon, his grandfather a priest, the inference is that Strathclyde, if pagan, could not be his birth-place. In maintaining a contention, which he nowise can prove, he forgets that the Romans at times with great armies penetrated far into Scotland, and amongst them there could not fail to be a leaven of Christianity. "Bede informs us," he says, "that previous to the erection of 'Candida Casa,' or Withern, there had not been a church in the country." Now Bede does nothing of the kind. Bede speaks of St. Columba as having converted the northern Picts, the southern Picts having been previously converted by Nynias, whose church was called "Candida Casa," for the reason that the church he erected there was of stone, a thing unusual among the Britons.\* This is proof positive that other sorts of churches were usual amongst them. How many stone churches did St. Patrick or St. Columba erect? Every student of history knows that there prevailed another method of erecting churches. Here again comes the puzzle what to say of F. Malone's citations. His forte evidently is not in this direction. We leave it to the reader to conceive how such things can be. Blame Bath. Blame Caerleon.

If the Life of St. Ninian is examined, it is found that his father was a North British king, by religion a Christian. It is found that he studied the Scriptures, and shunned what was contrary to religion. He went to Rome, and "learnt that on him and his fellow-countrymen many things contrary to sound doctrine had been inculcated by unskilled teachers."† On his return home he "straightway proceeded to root up what had been ill planted, to scatter what had been ill gathered, to cast down what had been ill built." This and other passages suppose a Christian community. The very fact of his passing beyond the Forth to preach in the kingdom of the Picts argues that the Britons he passed through were already converted, or had sufficient clergy amongst them. The dedications to him are plentiful in Forfar and Perth, but also in Lanark and Ayr.

The truth of history seems to be that Cunedda and his sons, who were contemporary with St. Patrick, brought from Scotland a wave of Christianity with them over Wales. In Rees' Essay it is made apparent that what is said of the Church previous to about his time is but confusion, mystery, and conjecture. From Cunedda were descended a multitude of the saints of Wales. "He is deserving of notice, more especially as the Triads record that he was the first who gave lands and privileges to God and the

\* Lib. iii. cap. iv., "eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Brettonibus more fecerit."

† "Historians of Scotland," v. 9, 10, 11.



saints in the island of Britain.\* "For the support which they gave to the cause of Christianity, the children of Cunedda are called in the Triads the second holy family of Britain."

There is but space to note some of the queer assertions that enrich Father Malone's article. "The idea of civil decurions or senators in Alclyde is not to be entertained." (Alclyde was one of the most important Roman positions in the North, and the capital of a kingdom for centuries. Why could not a decurion be there, whose son and daughter are said to have tended sheep and cattle?) "If so early as the year 432 the Alclyde district was called Pictish rather than British." (If? by whom?) "My remarks on the scholiasts have been made not for the purpose of lessening, but of supporting the credibility of Irish writers." (Here are his own words: "My opinion of the old biographers, as expressed in a former article, was, 'that their premises were false,' 'that so early as the eighth century a corrupt text was adopted.'" And "I hasten to make good my verdict on the Lives whose text and translation I reject." This is quite a new and original way of giving a character for veracity to the ancient writers of his country.)

It has surely been abundantly proved how untenable and worthless this Caerleon theory is. Its author says that his "first study is to consult the interests of truth." Luckily for truth its throne is never set upon such unstable and tottering foundations. More pleasant work now remains to be done than the farther demolition of so fragile a fabric. In a previous article† the earliest authorities were quoted, and it was shown how unanimously they all pointed to Kilpatrick as the Saint's birthplace. The present writer places all modern theories (Scotch as well as others) in the same category, that is, they are in plain conflict with what has been ever believed by the Church in Ireland and Scotland; and this not a bare belief, but a belief with concomitant practices of devotion. One very evident proof was unfortunately passed over. Other writers have not sufficiently noticed it, and manufacturers of theories always pass it by. It is well to have this opportunity to complete and perfect our proof. The authorities will speak for themselves:—

1. "But a church was built over the well in which he (Patrick) was baptized. And the well itself is beside the altar, being in the form of a cross, as those who know say."‡

\* Rees' "Essay on the Welsh Saints," pp. 114 and 126.

† The article placed third at the head of this paper.

‡ "Aedificata est autem Ecclesia super fontem, in quo baptizatus est. Ipse autem fons est juxta Altare habens figuram crucis, ut periti aiunt."—COLGAN'S *Trias Thaum.*, *Secunda Vita*, cap. iii.



2. The third Life has word for word as above.\*

3. "But the inhabitants of that place erected a church over the well, in which the blessed infant was baptized; and the well flowing beside the altar, as those who know that place tell, has the shape of the sacred cross."†

4. "Now the fore-mentioned well . . . pouring forth to this day its clear waters, bears the illustrious name of Patrick. It springs up near an inlet of the sea, and thereafter the people took pains to build an oratory over it, having an altar erected in the form of a cross."

"There is a stone near by, called by the people Patrick's stone (and miracles are related of it). St. Mel, the bishop, testifies that he himself had often witnessed them."‡

5. "Around that well a church was afterwards erected, in which, beside the altar, to the very great devotion of the people, that miraculous well is seen; and as a confirmation of the miracle, and in perpetual memory of the cross, by the sign and virtue of which it arose, it retains the form and shape thereof."§

The Second, Third, Fourth, Sixth, and Seventh, or Tripartite, Lives in Colgan speak thus of a miraculous well where St. Patrick was baptized; of a miracle thereat (giving the name of the man cured, Gornias, who also baptized him); of a church built over the well, of the well being beside the altar and in the form of a cross (Joceline makes the altar cruciform); of a miraculous stone close by. They all agree in these particulars. This church with its altar-well is very notable in connection with the birth-place of the Saint. Where St. Patrick, according to these Lives, was born, this church and this well, when they were written, existed; and as far back as the times of the Saint, Patrick's stone was near the church. When people had to be sworn, it

\* "Verbum pro verbo, ut in Secunda Vita."—*Trias Th.*, Tertia Vita, cap. iii.

† "Incolae autem loci illius Ecclesiam construxerunt super fontem, in quo beatus infans baptizatus est; fons autem ille juxta altare defluens, ut loci periti illius dicunt, figuram sanctae crucis habet."—*Trias Th.*, Quarta Vita, cap. iii.

‡ "Fons vero præfatus . . . usque in præsens perspicuas emanens undas, S. Patricii nomen insignitur . . . Oritur enim secus limbum maris super quem posteriorum diligentia aedificavit oratorium, habens altare in modum crucis extractum." ("Trias Th.," Sexta Vita, cap. ii.) "Est lapis prope locum positus, quem Patricii petram incolae vocant (et miracula de eo narrantur) . . . S. Mel, Episcopus, testatur se sæpius conspexisse."—*Ibid.*, cap. iii.

§ "Circa autem illum fontem postea Ecclesia est extracta; in qua juxta altare cum summa populi devotione visitur ille miraculosus fons; et in miraculi confirmationem, et continuam memoriam crucis, ejus sigillo et virtute factus est formam, et figuram retinet."—*Trias Th.*, Septima Vita, cap. iv.

was customary to take their oaths over the stone. If a false oath was given, the surface of the stone, it was said, became moist, as if weeping the perjury. Joceline, as we have seen, states that St. Mel testifies that he was a frequent witness of this miracle. St. Mel, Bishop of Ardagh, brings us back to the days of Patrick. The important point is, that Joceline, who, in the eleventh chapter of the sixth Life, positively names Dunbreatan, Mons Britonum, on the Clyde, as connected with the Saint's childhood, Nemtur in fact, gives the authority of St. Mel as to the circumstances of Kilpatrick.

Now, all the theories fail here. They keep aloof from this circumstantial evidence as to place. No attempt is made to show this stone, this well, this church of St. Patrick at the fanciful localities of these modern theories. Kilpatrick alone had this stone, church, and well by the altar. The Reformation overthrew the church, and the public highway is driven through the site of the old ecclesiastical buildings. Had the church stood this storm, it would be the visible proof. But the well is quite at hand, answering to where we would expect to find it.

There is but one sole dedication to St. Patrick in all Wales,\* if it is our Patrick that is meant. Wales had two Patricks of its own. That dedication was at Menevia, not at Caerleon. There is surely a great perversity in fixing on a locality as his birthplace which has never been connected with the Saint in any way. Trace or vestige, record or tradition of him at Caerleon has yet to be found. This question of dedications is one that is carefully shunned. These dedications are stubborn facts. "Facts," they say with us, "are chieftains that winna' ding." The castle chapel at Dumbarton, and the parish church in the town, that of Kilpatrick of course, and four or five other churches of Strathclyde were dedicated to our Saint. In the schemes of inventive theorists this cannot be accounted for. The dedications go back to our earliest Christianity. The Strathclyde Britons, unless he had been also a saint of their own, would never consecrate their capital to the great saint of their enemies. To my mind this argument is of great force. Early dedications are even given by Protestant antiquaries as a sign of some personal contact of the saint named and the locality. This state of the case, even if the ancient writers had been less explicit as to names, would have directed any unbiassed mind to Kilpatrick. No other place has *of itself* any ancient sign or tradition of being the desired birthplace.

One thing is very worthy of notice in all the ancient Lives :

\* Rees' "Essay on the Welsh Saints," p. 129. Anglesea has a dedication to another Patrick.

they speak without hesitation. The birthplace was no mystery to them. They "most unquestionably" speak of it as if they did know where it was. They had amongst them those who saw it (*periti*). Whatever they relate as to its name or direction down to minor details, such as the prevalence of floods, abundance of snow and ice, the easy proximity of wolves, they relate as matters of course; and what is said suits in every particular our locality. If the remembrance of the birthplace had in any way been lost or obscured, something of the kind would have escaped from some Irish pen, but no such hint ever meets us. The true tradition remained unbroken on both sides of the Irish Sea until after the Reformation.

Then theory began to appear. Criticism, using queer methods, started up. An isolated sentence of one Life, budding forth from a fanciful foreign grafting of novel import, bears the only fruit worth plucking of all that was written. Names and portions of names were used with a liberty and license beyond all restraint. *Bannavem*, to which of old no interpretation was given—which name may have made way for that of *Kilpatrick*—assumed at once whatever interpretation the theorist required of it. *Nemtur* and *Campus Taberniae*, names to which of old interpretation was given, must perforce yield up the old absurd for the new undoubted meaning. As theories thickened, the means of manufacturing them became more questionable. At last letters in a name were replaced by others, letters were dropped out, letters were inserted, names were inverted—heels first, head last, or united, or divided, added to, or curtailed, muddled anyhow, to suit a theory. If the evidence for the thousand and one things—relics, miracles, saints, writings—which we Catholics have to defend, was hostilely manipulated in this fashion, where would we be? Every theory—some more, some less—resorts to these methods. This, done "in the interests of truth," and with such certainty, as if the theorist had been present a thousand years ago, note-book and pencil in hand, when the ancient scribe made his mistake—this raises the matter from the commonplace of theory to the dignity of comedy.

Contrast this with the plain, serious, convincing narrative of the other side. The scholiast on *Fiace*, who, according to Professor O'Curry, wrote within sixty years of St. Patrick's death,\* says that *Nemtur* is *Alclyde*, and history furnishes us with but one *Alclyde*, which is *Dumbarton*. The "*Liber Hymnorum*," written at latest 150 years after Patrick,† gives this gloss on *Nemtur*. In a secular poem on his hero, the ancient Welsh bard

\* O'Hanlon's "*Lives of the Irish Saints*," iii. 406; and "*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*," iv. 279, 280.

† "*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*," ii. 90.

Taliesin\* places Nemthur on the Clyde. Joceline produces St. Mel, contemporary of Patrick, as a witness of miracles close by the church of the Saint on the Clyde, near Dumbarton. Later Lives infer Nemthur to be on the Clyde, as well as the Campus Tabernaculorum. The Fourth and Tripartite Life places the Saint's birth in Strathclyde at Nemthur. The Book of Lismore and an Homily of the twelfth century make him of the Britons of Strathclyde, born at Nemthur. Another scholiast on Fiacc brings him from Strathclyde across sea to be captured in Armorica. We have him called of the North Britons, Aleclyde river Britons, Strathclyde Britons. His birthplace is said to be "not far from our sea," "the Irish Sea," "bordering on the Irish Sea," "over against Ireland." The authors of five of the Lives give a church and well, existing from nearly his until their time, where he was baptized. Three of them, directly or by inference, make this apply to Strathclyde, and to no place else has this been shown to apply. A document exists, proving that an endowment was provided to entertain pilgrims coming to Kilpatrick over 600 years ago. Place this unvarnished statement beside any of the theories, and judge which has truth on its side, and do not forget where the dedications are. The truth does not require to alter, change, or manipulate letters or names. The catena of authorities, supplementing each other, but all in agreement, lead us with certainty to the birthplace of St. Patrick on the Clyde.

I do not pretend to understand the closing paragraph of Father Malone's article. I select for admiring notice one expression. "I am only testifying," he says, "to the tradition handed down by my predecessors since the days of St. Patrick." We have an enigma here! Whose tradition does he follow? He has not named a single predecessor who mentions Caerleon. He does not follow Cardinal Moran. He does not follow Shearman, nor Cashel Hoey, nor O'Curry, nor Lanigan, nor Colgan, nor Roderick O'Flaherty, nor Joceline, nor the writer of the Tripartite, nor any of the Lives (the Lives were corrupt according to him before 800), nor the scholiasts on Fiacc. He who the other day argued that *Bonn Avon Thabur Indecha* was the true reading, but now says that the same words should be read *Beneventa Burrii*, whom does he follow? What a statement to make! Like his countryman whose ancestor was not in the ark with Noah, but had a boat of his own, Father Malone has a tradition of his own!

From every contest the case of Kilpatrick issues clearer and stronger. To use the hackneyed phrase current, nothing else can "hold the field." The tradition of the Churches of Ireland and

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\* Rees' "Essay on the Welsh Saints," 271, gives the first half of the sixth century as the time of Taliesin, and Skene's "Celtic Scotland," ii. 436.

Scotland, derived from so many different sources, ought to have some sacred force. He is difficult to convince, who in an historical question would require stronger evidence than they here offer. Meantime, the church at Kilpatrick is unbuilt. When the time comes, which may God hasten, if it cannot be as of old over the well, it should be built near it, and the water brought inside and as near to the altar as may be allowed, those waters, "sweet to drink, wholesome to the taste," that flowed over St. Patrick when he was baptized by the aged Gornias at Old Kilpatrick, near Dumbarton, on the Clyde.

COLIN C. GRANT.

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#### ART. VIII.—THE ETHICS OF ANIMAL SUFFERING.

Noi dominiamo le bestie non solo per la superiorità della nostra natura, ma perchè le bestie non hanno diritti . . . . La violazione suppone diritti, che si ledono. Or, dove questi non sono, non può darsi nè violazione, nè ingiustizia.—*Monsigr. Mario Felice Peraldi.\**

IT is a well-recognized fact, that a man's power of sympathy with the suffering and the afflicted is, as a rule, in proportion to his own personal acquaintance with pain; indeed, we can only know what others feel by analogy, for it is impossible to actually experience any state of consciousness or of feeling but our own. The only manner in which we can realize the distressing sensations that others are enduring, is by reawakening our past sensations and endeavouring to place ourselves, as far as possible, in the situation of the person suffering. Thus it becomes a habit with us to measure the pains of others by reflecting on what we should feel, if similarly circumstanced, and to make ourselves the standard of comparison. This may often lead us into error, as when a tender-hearted lady, born in affluence and nurtured amid luxury, thinks the poor peat-carrier of Connemara as sensitive to wind and weather as she herself is. But the chances of error are indefinitely increased when the comparison to be instituted is not between the differently circumstanced individuals of the same great human family, but between ourselves and the unreasoning and unconscious birds and beasts of the fields. How are we to judge of their feelings and sufferings? Science has contrived no means by which we can convey their impressions to our own nervous centres. Nor is it possible

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\* § iv. p. 368, "Della Civile Convivenza," volume primo. Five Vols. 1853.

to possess ourselves of the special kind and degree of sensation felt, for instance, by a fox in the relentless grasp of a steel trap, or by a lamb in the fangs of a hungry wolf. To reason, as though the pain were equivalent to what we should feel would be very far from the mark. Yet men continually argue as though the inferior animals felt very much in the same degree as human beings; and may often be noticed to speak with a degree of authority which can only be justified by the most accurate acquaintance with all their sensations.

As a matter of fact, we know very little as to the feelings of the lower creatures. Our best efforts to ascertain the truth upon this point, are but gropings in the dark, and our most accurate knowledge can seldom be anything more than a good guess. We may, of course, argue more or less correctly from the struggles, cries, expressions of agony and fear, and other indications that may come under notice; we are also justified in relying, to some extent, upon the greater or less perfection of the anatomy, nervous system, and general corporal structure of the animal, and may judge from the nearness of its resemblance to our own sensitive frame the extent of its capacities for pain. Still we shall often be deceived in our judgment and inaccurate in our conclusions. In this, at all events, there can be no doubt, at least, in our mind, that the most acute sufferings even among the higher orders of irrational animals are slight, as compared with what man would suffer in the same or similar circumstances. This truth is owing not merely to man's more perfect organization and nervous system, his habits of body, mode of life, and refined nature, nor to the possession of an intellectual power which enables him to grasp, as no brute can, all the present terrors of the situation, as well as its possibly still more disastrous consequences, but it is also in an especial way owing to the vastly superior nature of his human soul. Feeling is of course in the organism instrumentally. Flourens says, "*La sensibilité est dans les nerfs et dans la moelle épinière.*" It resides in the nerves and spinal marrow certainly, but only when informed by the living principle, which in the case of man is the soul. The consciousness of pain is a resultant, dependent upon the union between body and soul. Therefore we are inclined to believe that the more excellent the animating principle, the more delicate and sensitive will be its response to any impression or modification of the nervous centres and other points of sensation, in which (if we may so express ourselves) it is in contact; and the more accurately will it report and register in the field of consciousness any feelings of pleasure or pain. This strikes us as a legitimate conclusion from what Catholic philosophers teach concerning the necessary



part played by the soul, even in every corporal sensation.\* It also seems quite in accordance with what we should have expected from our knowledge of the goodness of God. Indeed, it would be shocking to suppose that the innumerable hosts of animals which perish from slow and violent deaths should be as sensitive to pain as man is. We should have to exercise some violence with ourselves before we could suppose that they suffered with anything like the degree of acuteness that we do, though the initial difficulty, of course, remains, and we may still demand, with some perplexity, why they should suffer at all. In all parts of the world immense numbers both of beasts and of birds are exposed, not merely to the fury of wind and weather, and to lingering deaths from drought and dearth of food, and from inundation, but vast numbers are liable also to be torn to pieces in the cruellest manner by ferocious birds and beasts of prey.

Before advancing further it may be well for us to convince ourselves, by a few illustrations and examples, of the erroneous conclusions to which we may be led by the hasty analogies we are wont to draw between ourselves and the lower orders of creation. Our analogies are never very reliable, but the lower we descend in the scale the more unreliable of course they are apt to become; so to make the lesson as striking as possible we will consider one of the lowest order of creation—viz., the insect world. Good-natured persons are generally disposed to think that even insects are easily pained, and to approve the old saying that a beetle crushed beneath our foot suffers all the pangs "as when a giant dies." At all events the extent of their insensibility to pain, as far as we can gather from their conduct, is scarcely at all realized by the majority of men.

We may perhaps suppose at first sight that it would be difficult to devise a more cruel form of death than that of being slowly eaten up alive by numerous worms. To have our flesh gradually gnawed away, and our bones and sinews laid bare one by one till at last we succumb through sheer exhaustion and loss of strength, is certainly not a death to look forward to, nor one likely to fill us with pleasant anticipations. Yet there are insects that do not seem to mind it in the least. The caterpillar of the large white butterfly, for instance, frequently meets with that fate. When quietly browsing on the cabbage-leaf the little four-winged ichneumon fly may often be seen to approach, and with a flourish

\* "Est operatio animæ, quæ quidem fit per organum corporale . . . et talis est operatio animæ sensibilis," &c.—St. Thom. I. lxxviii. Art. I.

"Quoad identitatem animæ rationalis cum sensitiva, manifestissima res est, propter indubium conscientiæ testimonium."—*Liberatore*, vol. ii., Inst. Philos.



of its tremendous ovipositor, to plunge it into the fleshy parts of the caterpillar, first in one spot and then in another. In each wound so made it deposits an egg, which soon produces a worm which at once begins to feed and revel upon the living flesh and tissues in which it finds itself imbedded. Though we have watched them develop with our own eyes, and have seen them wax strong on the luscious food so strangely provided, we have never noticed any symptoms of uneasiness or distress on the part of the unfortunate victim. Though devoured itself by the numerous progeny of the ichneumon, regardless of all consequences, it continued to browse on the cabbage-leaf apparently with as much complacency and as good an appetite as though it were perfectly at ease. Nor is its death a rapid one; by an instinct of nature the parasites avoid the vital parts, so that they are enabled to continue their feast till there is little left but a dry shrivelled up skin. The caterpillar then succumbs to its fate. This insensibility is surely hardly what we should have anticipated, and suggests extreme caution in the application of our analogies.

We will now consider a somewhat different instance :

A gentleman being engaged in collecting insects, caught a specimen of the common dragon-fly, which he fastened down in his collecting-box with a large pin thrust through the thorax, when to his astonishment he observed the dragon fly held in its forceps a fly, which was still struggling for liberty. This it soon devoured without exhibiting any signs of pain, seeming wholly unconscious of its own unpleasant situation, being still secured by the pin before named to a piece of cork.\*

The gentleman willing to improve the experiment still further, caught another fly, which he offered to it. This was eagerly seized by the rapacious insect, and devoured with greediness. Such facts plainly prove that the most ghastly wounds produce either no pain, or, at all events, so little as not even to interfere with appetite. The fact that some insects will live a long time after the loss of an important member of their bodies without any signs of excessive pain is a further indication of the same truth. The *Libellula* or common dragon-fly, *e.g.*, will survive for whole days the loss of its abdomen, or even its head. Edward Thompson states positively that he has seen "a *Carabus granulatus* run without its head; and that a *Cerceris*, deprived of its head at the moment it was inserting itself into the cell of a bee, to deposit its eggs, did not allow such a trivial accident to interfere with its purpose, but *continued* its attempt, and *turned back to it* after

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\* Thompson's "Passions of Animals," p. 105 (1851).

it was placed in an opposite direction. This effort to conclude the operation of laying its eggs after its decapitation would argue the presence of very little actual pain.

The death-watch, which seeks to escape injury by feigning death, will betray no signs of pain however cruelly it may be dealt with when in that state. It will allow itself to be torn limb from limb, to be transfixed with a pin, and even to be roasted to death without so much as a change of posture. These examples might be considerably added to, but they suffice to show us how little the casual observer can judge of the nature and degrees of suffering endured by irrational beings. As we ascend in the scale, and have to do with more fully developed organisms, pain becomes more apparent on mutilation, and we find more unequivocal signs of sufferings. Still, who will determine the maximum of which even the highest of the quadrumana are capable? It must be far below what we are accustomed to fancy. Still, minimize it as much as we may, there is undoubtedly—after all allowance made—a very considerable residue of suffering among animals, occasioned in various ways. For the moment, we will not take into account the share man may have in producing it, but confine ourselves exclusively to irresponsible causes. First there are storms, inundations, droughts, excessive cold and heat, prairie and forest fires, earthquakes and landslips, by which thousands of creatures perish with a more or less prolonged agony. Then there are plagues, diseases, and all kinds of painful eruptions and epidemics, to which animals are subject, and which torment and distress them in a most cruel way. Lastly, there are sufferings caused by the whole tribe of Carnivoræ, which live upon the warm and trembling flesh of less ferocious animals, which they rend and tear with barbarous ferocity. A few specimens of these predatory animals may not be out of place. Reflect, then, for a moment upon the fearful pain caused by the carnivorous beasts which either hunt down their prey like the wolf and the jackal, or lie in wait for it like the Felinæ. It is well known that the leopard and panther's thirst for blood is insatiable, and that the number of animals that they slay is immense. The puma or South American lion resembles the cat in the mode of seizing its prey, and will play with it with the like ingenious cruelty; so also the chetah, or hunting leopard.

The torture inflicted by another class of animal is, if somewhat different, assuredly quite as great, and even reminds us of the tortures of those martyrs who were slowly crushed beneath greater and greater weights. We refer to the larger species of serpents. The enormous boa, for instance, and other specimens of the same genus, which lie in wait for antelopes and other quadrupeds, are most unsparing of suffering in their manner of

procedure: they will coil themselves around a captivated animal, and slowly encircling it in their mighty folds, will gradually suffocate and crush the poor struggling and agonizing creature till its bones crack, and its joints are dislocated, and it is reduced at last to a state which may greatly aid deglutition. The pain endured before death ends it must be intense. Indeed, compared with this, the sharp knife of the skilled vivisector seems merciful. Consider also the might that is seated in the proboscis of the elephant, and the force with which the rhinoceros, the buffalo, and the wild ox gore with their horns, and rip up the bodies of their foes. If we descend in the scale of creation the same law of pain prevails. Both the Crustaceæ and spiders feed on the blood and juices of *living* animals, catching them either by a spring, by pursuit or by lying in wait, or by snares. Some spiders, when satiated, secure their unhappy captives in their webs as a reserve for a future meal; while the Shrike, with yet greater cruelty, spits beetles on thorns for the same economic purpose. The lion-worm (*Leptis*) reminds us of the gigantic boa in its treatment of its prey; it winds its body in coils around its victim, and compresses it to death, while it sucks out the juices by means of a most cunning little implement fixed to its head. The ant-lion is not more merciful. It plunges the point of its jaws into the body of any small insect that comes within its reach, sucks out all the juice from the quivering and palpitating little sufferer, and then throws out the empty skin to some distance.

Nor is it only creatures of their own size that insects will attack and torture. There are many varieties which will harass and torment large animals, and make their lives a burden to them. Indeed there are few even of the more highly organized animals which have not cause to lament the existence of some of their more unscrupulous parasites. We may refer the reader to a book on "*Animal Plagues and Diseases*," by Fleming, for innumerable instances. For the present we will satisfy ourselves with a single example, which we take, however, from another source—viz., from *Omphalos*. The insect to which we refer is called the *Æstrus ovis*, or sheep-bot; as its name suggests it is the terror of the sheep. With the same unerring instinct, which we so admire, though in another relation, in the honey-bee and the industrious ant, this sagacious little creature lays its eggs where alone they can ever come to maturity—at the edge of the nostrils of the sheep. Out of these eggs small larvæ emerge, which crawl up the nostrils of the unhappy animal "till they find a suitable resting-place in the frontal sinuses of the skull." It is evidently guided to the nostrils of the sheep by the same divinely engrafted instinct that guides the bee to the flower; for

"to suppose the eggs in any other circumstance would be to consign them to certain destruction" (Omphalos, p. 309).

It is not necessary to dilate upon the prolonged agony any sheep so used must endure. *Verb. sap.* If we allow—and it seems as patent a fact as any we can point to—that the poor beasts that perish by the claws of lions and wolves, or the talons of eagles and kites, endure agony and fear, we must not shirk the consequences that follow from it. One of the most important of these is that suffering is not merely permitted by the Omnipotent and Omniscient Creator, but distinctly caused—*qui facit per alium facit per se*; \* for has He not designed, and fashioned, and called into life the wolf as well as the lamb, and the vulture no less than the dove? Has he not implanted within the Carnivoræ all those instincts and inclinations which make them the terror of the mountain and the forest? Consider the eagle and the lion; see how He has adapted them for their ferocious habits; how He has armed them with the sharpest and strongest weapons, and taught them skill and cunning in the capture and ensnaring of their defenceless prey, no less than He has taught the birds to build their nests, and the swallows to fly over the stormy sea. He has created them with an inborn thirst for blood, and has not, as in the case of the cruellest man, provided as far as we know any corrective. Indeed, the cruelty of man towards animals, even though it were double what it is, represents but a very insignificant fraction of the sum total of suffering induced by unconscious agents all over the world. Not merely in the vast forests of South America, and the burning plains of India, and the islands in the Pacific, and in other parts of the less thickly populated regions of the world, is there a perpetual rending, and tearing, and pursuing, and crunching, but all around us, and about us as well. The hawk pursues the sparrow, the owl pounces on the unwary mouse, the stoat and weasel suck the warm blood from the terrified rabbit and hare, and linnets and finches crunch the wriggling worm. Even within the privacy of our very rooms the cruellest deeds are perpetrated. While the cat plays with the terror-stricken mouse upon the floor, the house-spider weaves and spreads her nets upon the ceiling, and allures many a giddy, unsuspecting fly to its awful doom. In spite of hue and cry the

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\* The ferocious habits of carnivorous animals can hardly be attributed to the fall of man. St. Thomas, at all events, seems to think that even had Adam retained his innocence, the carnivoræ would still have been dissatisfied with a vegetable diet. "*Non per peccatum hominis natura animalium est mutata, ut quibus nunc naturale est comedere aliorum animalium carnes, tunc vixissent de herbis sicut leones et falcones . . . Fuisset naturalis discordia inter quædam animalia*" (I. xcv. Art. 4). St. Augustin has expressed the opposite opinion.

pitiless snarer grasps the victim in her claws, and sucks with savage glee the life-blood from its veins. Thus, from the entire world of sensitive nature goes up a ceaseless wail of agony and writhing pain; nor can any well intentioned effort on our part do much to diminish it. We have no right, of course, to conclude that because God, for most wise ends, permits animals so to torture one another that therefore we, *à fortiori*, may also disregard their sufferings. But, though it is not absurd to declare that God forbids man to inflict pain on animals, it is hardly reasonable to assert that He thus forbids it *on their account*. Man owes it, not to the animals but to himself, to abstain from wanton cruelty. The truth of this last remark will be best realized by a few examples. If, when wandering along the banks of the Orinoco, I stumble across a poisonous specimen of the tarantula, I may take a stick and crush it forthwith; but if a gorgeously painted humming-bird alight upon my hand I would be at once accused of cruelty were I to seize it, and tear it limb from limb. The one is a graceful and innocent creature, but the other a public enemy. Yet considered merely from the animal's point of view, one is quite as innocent as the other; both simply obey the law of their nature, which is as truly determined by God and as irresistible as the law of gravitation. When passing sentence of death on the lower animals, we never consider their guiltiness or their non-guiltiness, since they must ever be blameless in following out the instinct of their own nature; all we think of is ourselves—our own convenience. The pain a tarantula or a snake suffers under the repeated ill-directed blows with which a nervous man will seek to despatch it, is considered by most persons as nothing but a most just and deserved punishment for the fear and irritation which it inspires; but, strictly speaking, any punishment is as undeserved in the case of the most venomous tarantula, or snake, as in the case of the most charming humming-bird or gambling fawn (*i.e.*, abstraction made of our own convenience), since the snake is as unconscious of doing wrong in fastening its fangs in our flesh as the bee in plunging its proboscis into the cowslip cup or into the waxen bell of the begonia, and is as little worthy of death. Why should we unhesitatingly wound and macerate the one, and think it cruelty to exercise a like vengeance on the other, except from purely personal reasons? Regarded exclusively from the animal's point of view, we fail to see why it is one bit worse to butcher a thousand seals on account of their jackets, or humming birds for the sake of their plumage, than to butcher as many boa-constrictors, or adders, on account of their sting. In both cases these creatures (unhappily for them) chance to possess a gift of nature which provokes man to take their lives; but the latter (still confining our view to the animal

standpoint) are as guiltless, and as little worthy of stripes as the former. How indeed can one be more guilty than another when both are absolutely and necessarily innocent? All beasts, even the most ferocious, do but follow their unreasoning instincts. The act of a tiger, when leisurely bending over the prostrate form of the captured hunter, and feeding upon his legs and arms, is just exactly as virtuous (or as vicious) as the act of an Alderney cow when yielding her milk to nourish incipient humanity—neither more nor less. That the one should be rewarded and the other punished for what neither can possibly help must (so soon as we leave ourselves out of the question) be considered as the most unjustifiable and arbitrary method of proceeding possible—akin to the freak of a barbarian who should raise one man to the throne because of the wart on his nose, and another to the gallows because of the cast in his eye. The more we consider this matter the more clearly we shall see that in dealing with animals man is guided by their relations to himself.

To say that animals have rights which we cannot invade, is to say a good deal too much. The sinfulness and moral obliquity of inflicting wanton pain—for it may reach even that extent—rests upon far other grounds. Our obligations in this matter arise rather from what we owe ourselves as rational and responsible beings, than from any peculiar right inherent in the lower animals themselves. As the Creator *cannot* act in opposition to His divine nature, so the rational creature *ought not* to act in opposition to his human nature. Every great gift carries with it a correspondingly great responsibility. Thus, if God has endowed us with the marvellous faculty of reason, it is that we should act according to the dictates of reason, and not in a wanton and arbitrary manner, even towards the lower creation. Now reason demands (a) that there be a motive for all our actions, (b) that there be a certain proportion between each act and the motive that elicits it, and (c) that the motive be a just one. Here at once we are provided with a check against wanton cruelty. To inflict pain upon the lowest beast for the mere pleasure of seeing it suffer, or for the sake of indulging a cruel disposition, would be unquestionably wrong. Some definite gain must be proposed as the motive of our action before we should so much as entertain the idea of putting it into operation; and this gain must bear some proportion to the incidental pain inflicted. The right of inflicting some degree of pain and inconvenience is well recognized by men all over the world; and this right is constantly enforced and reduced to practice. A very appreciable amount of pain, for instance, is inflicted in breaking in a horse, and teaching it to recognize the power and authority of its master. And even when this is done we put an iron bit into its mouth, we gore its flanks



with the spur, we strike its sensitive back with the whip (and there is no more sensitive beast than a thorough-bred horse), we load its feet with heavy iron shoes, we compel it to carry us twenty or thirty miles along a hard turnpike-road, we turn it now to the right, now to the left, and force it into endurance vile. No one can suppose that this is not interfering in some measure with its contentment and ease, or that it does not necessarily entail some amount of suffering. What then is our justification? Well, that we are only exercising that dominion over the brute creation conferred by God, and that we are not *abusing* our privilege, since the end we have in view sufficiently justifies the methods here employed. We are not exceeding our rights so long as we do not exceed the dictate of sound reason. In a word, so long as the suffering inflicted is not out of proportion to the benefits derived, we are undeserving of censure. What we have said of the horse no one, we believe, will venture to question. The practice of so subduing, taming, and training for our domestic use, the horse, the pony, the mule, and patient ass; and in other parts of the world, the elephant, camel, and goat is, at all events, universally practised without a word of censure even from the most tender-hearted. The principle, therefore, that *man may inflict pain upon the irrational animals even merely for the sake of his own convenience and advantage*, is at once virtually conceded. It is, in fact, accepted as an axiom by all men, and acted upon in a thousand practical cases. The watch-dog that we keep chained up all day and night in our backyard, the canary that we imprison in our cage, the birds, beasts, and reptiles that are huddled up within the narrow precincts of our zoological gardens; the ferrets, whose mouths we sew up and send to hunt out rabbits; and the fresh fish that we crimp, and the lobsters that we boil alive, are all illustrations of it. The principle, in a word, is taken for granted. Yet there are, on the other hand, excesses of cruelty which are reprobated at once by all tender-hearted men, and which none will seek to justify; but they are generally cases of  *motiveless severity*. If a man loses his temper with a horse, and flogs it to death in his stable-yard, he is rightly stigmatized as a heartless brute; but let the same severity be exercised in view of a proportionate gain, and the act excites no indignation. For instance, a rider, flying for his life from a tribe of pursuing savages, might rightly lash his horse, and urge it on with whip and spur till it dropped agonizing to the ground incapable of further motion. In such cases it would seem that the whole question of right or wrong is to be determined (and we think rightly) by the extent of the advantage to be derived. It is true that there are many who would quite resign themselves to see a horse spurred



and lashed to death by a man riding for dear life, whose gall would nevertheless rise at an act of vivisection, though performed with a view of saving twenty lives; but this, of course, is only saying that there are men who are illogical and inconsistent. Granted such results from an act of vivisection, and we utterly fail to see how the bitter condemnation of it can be defended on the plea of our duties towards the animals. We advisedly say, "granted such result," for we do not in the least credit them; and till they are clearly and unequivocally substantiated, the painful and barbarous experiments can never be justified, or approved of by any right-minded person. Whatever may be the outcome of future years, the fact is now far from being decided—indeed quite the reverse. Thus Dr. Lawson Tait (quoted in an address by Canon Wilberforce) says:

Vivisection has proved useless and misleading, and in the interests of true science its employment should be stopped, so that the energy and skill of scientific investigators should be directed into better and safer channels.

The Canon then goes on to say:

Sir Thomas Watson told me that all the students had to unlearn at the bedside what they learned by experiments on animals, and that the true place where alone they could learn anatomy was in the mortuary hospital.

This sounds pretty strong and decisive; still in simple justice we must allow that others think differently. H. Taine, for instance, says:

Les vivisections ont créés presque toute la physiologie du système nerveux. . . . Renoncer aux vivisections serait condamner cette science à un éternel statu quo.

A large number of authorities might be quoted for both views.

So far we have spoken merely of the demands of reason. Now we would remind the reader that God has bestowed upon us other gifts besides, for the direction of our conduct. If reason and intelligence are His gifts, so also are the sentiments of mercy, compassion, and sympathy. They have not sprung up in the soul by accident; they are not some foreign importation. They are distinct effects of God's creative power and wisdom, and intended to enter into the composition of forces which determine our action, and influence our daily lives. Men often speak of these dispositions of soul as if they were in no way to be regarded; and act as if they were never intended to exercise any softening and humanizing influence over their harsher and sterner proclivities. We might well ask, in that case, why were they given to us? The fact of their possession is argument enough that they

were bestowed for a purpose—for the purpose of being exercised. One therefore who should steel his heart to all the more delicate and gentler promptings of his nature, and refuse to modify his conduct in any way at their bidding, with the view of being directed by the cold blue light of reason alone, would in reality be defeating his own purpose. He would be abusing reason, since reason clearly demands that man should consider and treat himself as a whole, with all his complexity of feelings and sentiments, and not merely as an emotionless logician and metaphysician. Matthew Arnold says : “ Finely touched souls have a presentiment of a thing’s natural truth even though it be questioned, and long before the palpable proof by experience convinces all the world ; ” and all admit that there is a *convenance* and a fitness of things, which may be too subtle to be explicitly demonstrated. Indeed, some of our best and highest states of mind are determined by far other motives than can be worked up into a syllogism. “ On n’aime pas une femme,” says Gustave Droz, “ par raison démonstrative, on n’aime pas non plus la patrie, l’art, le bien, et le beau par logique de raisonnement.” And so, too, there may be a consideration and a certain tenderness of feeling due to the lower creation too subtle to reduce to any strict form of mathematical proof, and which only the more “ finely touched ” souls can perceive. In any case, it is quite certain that any persistent and systematic disregard of the sentiment of compassion, will at last so far reduce its influence, that for all practical purposes it might just as well have no existence at all. Repeated acts of wanton cruelty to animals beget a cruel and savage disposition, which by a very easy transition develops into cruelty to men, and general hard-heartedness. It extinguishes even the ordinary feelings of humanity, and brutalizes and demoralizes the whole character. Those who begin, like the Pagan Emperor Domitian, by finding delight in killing and tormenting animals, will generally also end, like him, in practising barbarities and cruelties upon human beings. The objects of their cruelty change, but their pleasure in inflicting pain is the same.

Indeed of all the motives that may be brought forward to urge upon men the practice of kindness and consideration to the lower animals, a due regard to their own character is surely one of the strongest. The noblest and most exalted specimens of the human race, *i.e.*, the saints, have ever been conspicuous for their extreme gentleness and care for the dumb beasts ; and no one at all familiar with their lives can fail to have remarked with what friendliness and affectionate familiarity they were wont to treat them. St. Francis and the wolf ; St. Benedict and the raven ; St. Gregory and the dove, are all instances in point, while the

history of the fathers of the desert is a perfect repertory of examples.

This characteristic in the case of so many saints should hardly surprise us, considering how strongly mercy and gentleness towards beasts and birds are inculcated in holy Scripture; witness such expressions as, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn" (Deut. xxv. 4). "Six days shalt thou work, the seventh shalt thou cease, *that thy ox and thy ass may rest*" (Exod. xxiii. 12). "Thou shalt not plough [owing to their unequal strength\*] with an ox and an ass together" (Deut. xxii. 10).

Among many other instances, which might be cited we will content ourselves with that of Balaam and his ass, narrated in the twenty-second chapter of the Book of Numbers:

The prophet Balaam arose in the morning, and saddling his ass went (on his journey). And an angel stood in the way against Balaam, who sat on the ass. The ass seeing the angel standing in the way with a drawn sword, turned out of the way, and went into the field. And when Balaam beat her and had a mind to bring her again to the way, the angel stood in a narrow place between two walls. And the ass seeing him, thrust herself close to the wall, and bruised the foot of the rider. And he beat her again. Nevertheless the angel going on to a narrow place, where there was no way to turn to the right hand or to the left, stood to meet him. And when the ass saw the angel standing, she fell under the feet of the rider; who being angry, beat her sides more vehemently with a staff. And the Lord opened the mouth of the ass, and she said: "What have I done to thee? Why strikest thou me so, now this third time?" Balaam answered, "Because thou hast deserved it, and hast served me ill. I would I had a sword that I might kill thee." After this the angel renders himself visible to Balaam as well as to his beast, and, though he has an important message to deliver to the prophet, yet he postpones the delivery of his errand till he first reproved and convinced him of his wickedness and cruelty in smiting the ass. That the reproof might be the more striking to Balaam, the angel makes use of the very words which the ass had spoken, "What have I done to thee?" said the ass, "that thou hast smitten me these three times?" and the angel said, "Wherefore hast thou smitten thine ass these three times?" To the question of the ass, Balaam had replied, "Because thou hast mocked me, and I would that there were a sword in my hand, for now would I kill thee." But when the angel asked

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\* Such is the reason of the command assigned by Aben Ezra, the Jewish commentator, though Card. Cajetan says: "*Metaphorice intelligendum est.*"

him the selfsame question, his tone was changed, and we hear not a word about mocking, or wishing for a sword to kill her; but a confession of sin and an apology of ignorance; and Balaam said unto the angel of the Lord, "I have sinned." The sin evidently did not lie in the evil purpose of his expedition, as some might suppose. It consisted in his smiting the ass; for the confession is the response to the angel's question. And the angel did not say "Why dost thou persist in thy design of cursing the Israelites?" but "Why hast thou smitten thine ass these three times?" It was to this question that Balaam replied, "I have sinned."

This is the interpretation of the Very Rev. H. Primatt, D.D.\* We are not, however, without suspicions ourselves that it was the prophet's anger and passion, rather than his beast's sufferings, that provoked the reprimand of the angel.

This extract from Holy Writ certainly seems to point to a strong disapproval of any exercise of cruelty or inconsiderateness towards the irrational beings that move about us. It helps to accentuate the importance of a due regard for their feelings and sufferings, and teaches us that though we are their masters, that nevertheless we must be guided by our reason, and by our higher and more refined instincts in dealing with them. Noble-minded persons will instinctively shrink from inflicting unnecessary pain.

Cowards are cruel; but the brave  
Love mercy, and delight to save.

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

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\* See "A Dissertation on the Duty of Mercy," &c.

LETTER FROM DR. MIVART ON THE BISHOP OF  
NEWPORT'S ARTICLE IN OUR LAST NUMBER.

*To the Editor of the DUBLIN REVIEW.*

SIR,—My respect and personal regard for the Bishop of Newport and Menevia compel me to make a short statement in reply to his criticisms on two articles of mine which have appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*. That statement I will make as explanatory and as little controversial as I can, since controversy between a Catholic layman and a bishop is unseemly and necessarily unsatisfactory. It is a contest, moreover, in which one of the combatants is bound to fight with gloves, while the other may not only dispense with them, but use the cestus. In the present instance, however, I must avow my grateful sense of the kindness of my censor, who far from taking advantage of his distinguished position to strike the harder, has shown me consideration and courtesy.

My first impression on reading his article—an impression strengthened by each subsequent perusal—was one of great satisfaction and thankfulness at the extent to which my views and principles have the advantage of being in harmony with his.\* Had I enjoyed the advantage of reading such an article before 1885, I should have felt dispensed from publishing my own, which must now be admitted to have had at least one good result—namely, that of eliciting the truly liberal article to which it has become my duty to reply.

And now, in the first place, I desire respectfully to call to the Bishop's recollection the circumstances which preceded the publication of my first article, and to define more clearly what the position was I then desired to assume. For a number of years (since 1869) I had taken up the position of a Catholic apologist in the arena of biological science. I did not assume that position on my own responsibility, but in a spirit of obedience. My efforts were not altogether without success, nor did they fail to meet with a recognition on the part of the very highest authority which surprised as much as it gratified me. The defence I had drawn out reposed, in part, upon sundry facts and arguments of physical science and in part upon what I believed to be points of Catholic teaching. If, then, it could be shown me that my statements either about such teaching or about scientific facts were

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\* I refer especially to passages on pages 404, 406, 412, 413, 416, and 418.

erroneous, I was clearly bound\* to own my error and withdraw my apology. The Rev. Jeremiah Murphy came forward to show me that I was mistaken, and if his teaching is correct, simply cut the ground from under my feet and expressly contradicted my statements as to the compatibility of Catholicity with the doctrine of evolution, on the ground that there was a consensus of Catholic teaching against it. I then considered, and I still consider, that Mr. Murphy's proceeding left me, as an honest man, no choice but to retract or reaffirm the position I had taken up. I deemed it obligatory on me to endeavour to sustain that position not only on account of persons who had been influenced by my former publications, but also, and much more, because I was, and am, profoundly convinced of the loss of souls to the Church which would ensue should Mr. Murphy's contention be endorsed and supported by ecclesiastical authorities of greater weight and influence. The importance of these questions is apt to be much underrated by persons unfamiliar with them. That they exercise a very great influence over almost all classes of men and women in England—certainly from the class of university undergraduates down to that of the skilled artisans—I am profoundly convinced; nor do I think it likely that the Bishop of Newport would contest the truth of my assertion. But the peculiarity of my position has given me an opportunity of seeing into the doubts and mental perplexities of not a few Catholics, indisposed to reveal their doubts in the confessional, unless to a priest known to have a fair knowledge of biology.

It was my conviction of the grave importance of this matter which led me some years ago, in the DUBLIN REVIEW, to represent what I believed to be the need of our clergy "being so far instructed in physical science as to be able intelligently to discuss the religious difficulties which are so often supposed to be therewith connected," and it was the hope of being able to take a part in such clerical instruction which led me to accept a post at the Kensington College. It is very difficult for priests devoid of such instruction to understand that an approved divergence between Catholicity and Science can occasion loss of faith to Catholics who are interested in biology, and yet the "leakage" which takes place amongst our educated youth is undeniable, nor can it be denied that this asserted divergence is often stated to be its cause. Amongst the English Catholic clergy there are some ardently attached to some branch of physical science, including biology.

The same is, I have no doubt, also the case in Ireland, great as are the relative educational disadvantages under which that

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\* See the *Nineteenth Century* for July 1885, p. 32.

country suffers. Whatever may be the truth, however, as to the Irish clergy generally in this respect, and though I can rejoice in the knowledge that I enjoy the hearty sympathy of some of its members, yet Mr. Jeremiah Murphy certainly showed small sympathy for biological science, and assumed a position which in my eyes was intolerably pernicious. Instead of being content to claim freedom for his own views, he presumed expressly to refuse to his fellow Catholics their freedom about a question concerning the scientific aspect of which he knew nothing and cared if possible less—apparently regardless of the stumbling-blocks he might ignorantly set in the way of others differently conditioned from himself. It was not that he objected to a biological doctrine as unproved, he sought to preclude any attempt to prove what may turn out to be true and in no way contrary to any theological principle. As to his own view, he declared "we can insist" upon it and "the *prima facie* scriptural view of man's creation need not \* be abandoned." To this I replied: † "Surely because a thing 'need not be abandoned,' it does not follow that others should be *forbidden* to abandon it." I, on the other hand, had by no means "insisted" on the acceptance of a belief in the natural evolution of man's body, save on the hypothesis, that a mistake about the matter carried with it eternal damnation as a penalty!

It was a vivid sense of the extreme danger likely to arise from the existence of a laity keenly interested in and much tried by the doctrine of evolution, with a clergy such as we have a specimen of in the Rev. Jeremiah Murphy, which convinced me that a forcible, stirring appeal was imperatively called for. The propositions I put nakedly forward are deemed too unqualified and sweeping by my critic. I am willing to allow that they may be so from the Bishop's point of view and taken absolutely. For the object I had in view, however, they seem to me to have been only just startling enough. We all know that there is amongst us an intolerant and aggressive faction, and men who, a high authority has said, conduct themselves "as if no responsibility attached to wild words and overbearing deeds; who have stated truths in the most paradoxical form and stretched principles till they were close upon snapping." With these men the "prudent

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\* Mr. Murphy says it need not be abandoned "unless the evolutionists show that there is sufficient reason for departing from it." According to this view a theologian may *insist* upon a proposition being believed while all the time he holds it may possibly turn out to be untrue; providing himself, as it were, with a little back door to slip out at, should an inconvenient evolutionist one day show him "sufficient reason" so to effect his escape. This is to me a revolting position, at once sceptical and shocking from the indifference to truth it makes manifest.

† *Nineteenth Century*, July 1885, p. 35.



silence" and "respectful remonstrance" recommended by my critic are useless. Such means have been tried and have failed again and again. It was and is necessary to drive home to the obtuse and reluctant mind of such men, that the principles they so stretch are not only "close upon snapping," but will inevitably snap in their unskilled hands to their own confusion, amazement, and dismay.

The Bishop speaks to me of the "defining power of the Pastorate exercised by some of its organs," and of the churches in "magisterium." I never denied, or intended to deny, the infallible authority of the "magisterium," or of the "consensus patrum," in the proper and technical sense of those terms. But it is not any authority of the kind from which we individuals suffer, but from this, that, and the other individual, concrete priest. It is a common temptation to a man to "magnify his office," and from this temptation ecclesiastics are not exempt, as the Bishop will, I am quite sure, be the first to allow. Men like the Rev. J. Murphy lay down the law in a most absolute and intolerant fashion; appealing vaguely to authorities in a way likely to impose on the weak and timid to the prejudice of truth and therefore of the Church of which they are ministers. It is against the bugbears they invoke I have protested, not without some vigour, but by no means against the Church's authority. It is surely impossible to deny the truth of what I recently said\* concerning the unreasonableness of supposing that a body of men, admittedly fallible, could not fall into a common error due to a common ignorance about a matter which it was only possible for them to know through a miracle. It is simply certain that no theologians till recent times could have had any natural knowledge of the biological facts on which the theory of evolution reposes or of the historical data which support the views of modern biblical criticism.

If ill-regulated natures are exposed to the temptation of undue incredulity, it must not be forgotten that pious souls are subject to the opposite temptation—the temptation to yield to arrogant and ill-founded assertions vehemently made in the name of an authority they justly revere. The Bishop of Newport will, I am sure, freely admit that this, that, or the other ecclesiastic has now and again claimed unduly himself to represent the authority of the Church, and to regard the dictates of his own ignorance as a providential guidance towards truth.

Respecting danger to the faith of "little ones," I of course desire submissively to bow to the immeasurably greater knowledge and experience of the bishop. In my small experience, however, though I have met with many educated persons of both sexes

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\* *Nineteenth Century*, July 1887, p. 50.

who had either given up, or been near giving up, their belief in revelation because they thought the Church required a literal acceptance of various Scriptural statements, I have never met with one uneducated person who had felt even a difficulty on account of being told he need *not* literally accept such statements. Let us imagine a church wherein a thousand cultured persons are told by a preacher that they must believe literally the Scripture narrative of—say the creation of Eve, the adventures of Abraham's wife, and the history of Jonah. Let us then further imagine another church in which a thousand uneducated persons are told by a preacher that they *need not* believe these narratives literally. Can it for a moment be supposed that any of the uneducated will feel tempted to give up their faith on account of the freedom so allowed them? But of the educated congregation, how many would retain their faith if they were really convinced that the preacher had the highest authority for his insistence on literalness of interpretation? Do not the instructed, especially in these days, need consideration as well as the uninstructed? Even as regards the uninstructed, I am convinced that Scripture difficulties are largely the occasion of the spread of infidelity. I would refer any one who doubts this assertion to Mr. Rossiter's paper on "Artisan Atheism" which appeared in the July number of this year's *Nineteenth Century*.

My one object in my last article was to obviate the extensive loss of faith which is taking place by fully pointing out the results of modern biblical criticism with the theological principles which, as I am informed, enable us, without inconsistency, so largely to avail ourselves of them. That my article would startle many and give pain to certain persons I knew; that it would do some harm I feared; but I was advised, I think rightly, that it would do far more good. As the world is constituted it is very difficult to do good without doing some harm.

Mr. Murphy misrepresented my meaning in a very unwarrantable manner, attributing to me \* an intention to impugn "the supreme teaching authority of the Church" and to fix upon the Pope, "in his public official capacity as teacher of the Church," the responsibility of Galileo's condemnation. I only contended that, as the Bishop of Newport himself says (p. 406), a mistake was made "by theologians, cardinals, congregation, and the Sovereign Pontiff himself, without of course compromising the Church's infallibility or that of the Church's head." The Pope went wrong and made a mistake, apart from his supreme office, in the seventeenth century, as also did Roman congregations; and this teaches us how possible it is for a Pope to make a mistake when supposed by most of his contemporaries not to be merely teaching

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\* In his article in the *Nineteenth Century* for May 1886, p. 726.

as a private doctor and when recommending and supporting decrees of a sacred and authoritative congregation which has been itself mistaken. Such was the very essence of my contention, and the recent remarks on that subject of the Bishop of Newport quite dispense me from any further insistence upon it.

As the Bishop most justly says (p. 403): "To maintain that the divine guardian of revelation, in teaching the world what is the truth on such matters as our Lord's Death and Resurrection and the Eucharistic Presence, cannot at the same time indirectly decide with unerring accuracy the 'scientific' doctrine involved in such teaching, is to *dissolve* the power of teaching altogether. The Christian revelation embraces not merely spiritual and mental ideas, but facts and physical occurrences" also. When, then, I am reminded of the words of Pope Pius IX. to the effect that Catholic men of science "should have Revelation before their eyes as a guiding star to save them from danger and mistake," I am in no way troubled; for it is evident nothing but good can result from any men keeping such doctrines before their eyes. The Pope's words, however, cannot mean that a Catholic man of science is bound to keep before his eyes "a guiding star," the mere prevalent views of theologians\* and congregations ill-informed as to his science. A Catholic Newton, a Catholic Sir Charles Lyell, or a Catholic Biologist, would be simply paralyzed in their investigations by such fetters, and all progress arrested save amongst non-Catholics. Similarly, a too-timid Catholic Biblical critic may readily mistake what the Bishop calls (p. 407) "the common—but not necessarily 'Catholic'—view of what Scripture says," for what supreme authority has in fact declared to be its meaning. And here I must remind my critic that in my recent paper (p. 42) I expressly disclaimed adherence to some modern views as to Biblical criticism, "many of which" I suspected would "be found to require much modification in detail," and that some portion of them might be "rash, exaggerated, or even quite erroneous." When also I declared it to be the plain duty of the modern man of science not to swerve a hair's breadth from declaring "the very truth" with respect to Nature's laws, I by no means intended

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\* The Bishop says (p. 404):—"It is of absolute obligation 'to conform to 'the unanimous consent of the Fathers.'" But this obligation must really be very much less oppressive than to some it might appear, since we are told (p. 409), "No man who speaks as Bellarmine does, could ever regard as within the domain of the Catholic Faith a matter as to which he had admitted that the 'consensus patrum' might have to be reformed." Evidently then the Fathers may consent in what is not *de fide*, and therefore their consent alone cannot show any matter to be *de fide*. It may therefore be sometimes urged, even against a "consensus," that the matter is not really a revealed truth, even though, as was the case with the doctrine of the sun's motion, it was commonly thought so to be.

to deny "that it is wrong to say even what is true, under all circumstances, indiscriminately," or to deny the obvious truth "that certain pursuits are dangerous to certain minds and at certain periods," or, again, to dispute the legitimacy of the pastoral action of ecclesiastical authorities with respect to modes of treatment applied to matters of fact in so far as such "modes" affect religion and the "good of souls," even though not directly concerning Faith.

What I meant, and mean, is that, under the circumstances in which we now find ourselves, entire frankness is, *hic et nunc*, both morally incumbent and expedient, the case of Galileo serving us as a salutary warning of the dangers both of rash condemnations on the part of the clergy and of too timid and hasty attribution by the laity, of a much greater authority to some ecclesiastical decisions than they in fact possess. I feel compelled, in this connection, to repeat what I before said,\* as to its being the duty of the Catholic man of science—Biological and Historical—to follow up his investigations "undeterred by the clamours of well-meaning, but incompetent obstructors"; and to be (in Leo. XIII.'s words) "open to no suspicion of partiality, and not to fear stating the truth."

The Bishop of Newport, if I understand him rightly, seems inclined to deny that the world has made any advance in its ethical perceptions since the Middle Ages. There is probably here some misunderstanding on both sides, and misunderstandings are often best elucidated by bringing forward an extreme case. Every one knows that in the eleventh century a belief in marvels was almost universal, and marvelous tales would then have been accepted with great readiness and an almost entire absence of criticism. I have known a Spiritualist so given to credulity that if he ran against a chair in a darkened room, his first impression would be that he had been touched by a spirit. Now, I do not doubt but my critic would affirm that a certain moral responsibility attaches to the exercise of our reason, nor do I think he would deny that an educated man now who allowed himself to fall into the credulity of an uncritical age or into the silly superstition of the Spiritualist I have referred to, would be guilty of a culpable abuse of that reason with which God had endowed him. If so, then there is such a thing as a blameworthy "rashness of assent"—there is an amount of credulity which is wrong. But what is "wrong" is more or less a sin. I did not say a "mortal sin"—God forbid! There are plenty of emotional temptations, and such temptations may lead us to believe that something is a fact which is no fact. But I never said or meant that "to yield to

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\* *Nineteenth Century*, July 1885, p. 47.

authority" is to yield to an emotional temptation. To yield to a fear of being burnt alive would be to yield to an emotional temptation, and one to which I feel very sure I should myself at once succumb. I need hardly add that I do not hold "the pious desire on the part of a good Catholic to do his duty as such," to be "merely a species of emotion." As to what I said about conscience, I expressly stated (p. 42) that Catholic theologians recognized it "unhesitatingly;" but I said, and I repeat, that practical consequences of such recognition have been effectively deduced only in modern times. With respect to gambling, I learn with much satisfaction, a fact of which I was ignorant—namely, that Alexander VII. prohibited State lotteries. Still I cannot but regret that the practice was subsequently allowed on the grounds stated by my critic. Certainly the evil results of the custom existed under Pius IX. when I was at Rome. I should have said nothing with respect to cruelty had I had the advantage of reading so satisfactory a demonstration of its simpleness as that just made (p. 418) by the Bishop of Newport. I desire nothing more than that, and can only say that I should not have referred to the matter had I not heard very different statements made by Catholics I had every reason to suppose well-informed.

In two places (pp. 407 and 411) the Bishop of Newport speaks of the Rev. W. W. Roberts's "discovery of the Bull '*Speculatores*' of Alexander VII." Justice requires me to state that Mr. Roberts never made a claim to any such discovery, which would, of course, have been absurd. It is evident that the expressions used by Dr. Hedley must have been occasioned by a carelessly worded note of mine in my article for July 1885.\* The "fact," the discovery of which I attribute to him is thus spoken of by himself: † "until I drew attention to the matter in 1870, the *bearing of this Papal Act* on the case before us had, strange to say, been overlooked."

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

ST. GEORGE MIVART.

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\* P. 38—note.

† See "The Pontifical Decrees," &c. (Messrs. Parker & Co.), p. 93.

## THE BISHOP OF NEWPORT'S REJOINDER.

I HAVE been permitted, by the Editor of the DUBLIN REVIEW, to read in proof the reply of Dr. St. George Mivart to a paper in the last number of the Review, in which I ventured to criticize some of his positions. Dr. Mivart's reply may, I think, be fairly summed up thus: "We both agree that the Church has the power of infallibly deciding questions of natural science and of history, in so far as such questions are bound up with theological teaching; we both agree that Churchmen, as distinguished from the Church, may sometimes make unwarrantable claims in treating such questions; what I (Dr. Mivart) maintain is that at the present moment there actually is so much unwarrantable dogmatism on the part of ecclesiastics in regard to scientific and scriptural questions that it is needful for me, as a layman acquainted with laymen, to speak out and claim more freedom."

To this I would briefly say—(1) What I asserted was that Dr. Mivart had stated his canons of freedom far too broadly; so broadly as to deny (implicitly) that the Church was infallible in her ordinary magisterium, or that uncontradicted tradition (the *consensus patrum*) was to be accepted on theological points as definitory of faith. I do not think such broad and sweeping assertions are at all necessary for his point; but he does harm in making them. (2) Dr. Mivart maintained that, in the Galileo case, Churchmen had acknowledged themselves to be mistaken on a matter of theology; this I controverted, and still controvert. (3) I do not believe that there is any such insolent and aggressive faction as Dr. Mivart alludes to. The Rev. Jeremiah Murphy was certainly not either insolent or aggressive. There is no insolence in telling a biologist he has not proved his point, nor aggressiveness in telling him that he ought to be cautious (until he has proved it) in scorning the views on theologico-scientific matters of men who, if they had not studied biology, at least were very sensitive to the interests of souls. Dr. Mivart says that he has personal experience of the harm done to consciences by illiberal views as to evolution and the interpretation of Scripture. I am unable, of course, to dispute this; indeed I think it is true, to a certain extent. But my position is, that we must not sacrifice a theological principle even for the sake of keeping a waverer within the pale of the Church; because, as Dr. Mivart will of course admit, to give up a principle or a truth is to "let out waters" which will spread destruction far and wide. When writers like Father Murphy write against philosophers like Dr. Mivart, they write as men who do not indeed

pretend to supreme clear-sightedness, much less to infallibility, but who think they see that a theological principle is being attacked; and, as I have said, the philosophers, by their sweeping assertions, the reach and extent of which as laymen they do not understand, afford but too often ample grounds for this kind of suspicion. (5) I would do no more, at the present moment, than remind Dr. Mivart that the relations between Faith and Science, which puzzled even St. Augustine, cannot be satisfactorily adjusted by any man who is familiar with Science alone. Faith is a supernatural gift and endowment; it has manifold relations with will, with reason, and with emotion—with the Divine authority, with human authority, and with every kind of human knowledge. Is it not rash to attempt, in a popular article, to settle off-hand matters which, from the very nature of the case, require treatment of considerable delicacy and some elaboration? Let Dr. Mivart pursue his researches and formulate his results; when they are before the public, it will be time enough to discuss their orthodoxy; but, in the meantime, would it not be better that he should abstain from laying down canons in theological matters which may recoil on his own head?

There is one other subject to which I think it right to refer. I said, in the article referred to (*DUBLIN REVIEW*, vol. xviii. p. 401), that Dr. Mivart had "successfully asserted against the current Materialism certain common-sense views." On reflection, this seems too faint a praise for the writer's excellent work as we have it in "Nature and Thought" and elsewhere. I certainly hold that a large part of the work of the Catholic philosopher at the present moment is to assert such "common sense" views as the certainty of existence, consciousness, and spirituality; and to say that Dr. Mivart has done this is, in my opinion, nothing but praise, and it was intended as such; but it now seems to me that I ought to add—and I do so without agreeing on every point with Dr. Mivart—that he deserves the gratitude of English-speaking Catholics for his writings on these subjects.

J. C. H.



## Science Notices.

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**A Meteoric Theory of the Universe.**—"Stones fallen from heaven," if they no longer excite reverence, must always rouse the keenest curiosity. Genuine examples of cosmical stuff, they have found their way to the earth's surface from unimaginable distances—in some cases, it may be, from the remotest verge of the Milky Way. They vary greatly in composition. Some, called "siderites," are masses of nearly pure iron; but the majority are of a stony character, and are made up of silicates, sulphates, and oxides of a considerable number of metals, including magnesium, calcium, sodium, potassium, and manganese. No new element has been discovered in them. A few contain a small proportion of carbon in the form of graphite; and all exhale, when heated, a notable quantity of gas, hydrogen chiefly where "irons" are concerned, while carbonic acid predominates in "stones."

Their swift rate of travel causes them, for the most part, to get burnt up in the upper strata of our atmosphere. Before its retarding influence has begun to act, they not uncommonly outstrip seventy-fold the velocity of a projectile leaving the mouth of a hundred-ton gun, and the earth itself moves in its orbit at a comparatively slow pace. Now it has been computed that the surface-temperature of a body traversing air at the rate of 39 miles a second would rise to *two million* degrees Centigrade; and meteorites, at their encounter with the earth, commonly possess velocities of that order. Hence it is more surprising that any fragments of them come within tangible reach of us, than that so few do. In point of fact, six or seven hundred falls of meteoric matter are believed to occur over the whole surface of the earth in the course of a year; while two million meteoroids, each large enough to produce the appearance of a shooting star visible to the naked eye, are daily captured by the "cloud of all-sustaining air" which our globe bears with it in its course.

The connection between these bodies and comets has been known since Schiaparelli discovered, in 1866, that the comet of 1862 travelled in an identical orbit with the August meteors. We may indeed regard comets as dense meteor-swarms enveloped in the same kinds of gases as those "occluded" by the cosmical specimens ranged on the shelves of our museums. A similar constitution is now attributed, on high authority, not only to the whole of those marvellous sidereal aggregations called by the non-committal name of "nebulae," but also to several classes of "stars." Nay, continuity in the works of creation is sought to be maintained by attributing to our sun and the innumerable stars more or less resembling it, a similar antecedent

condition, from which they developed by the vaporization, through increasing heat, of their component meteoric particles.

The facts serving as the basis of this hypothesis are set forth in a paper read by Mr. Norman Lockyer before the Royal Society, November 17, 1887. Although hardly warranting the whole of the conclusions derived from them, they are, nevertheless, of great interest. Of an exclusively spectroscopic nature, they have been collected by the examination in the laboratory of the light emitted by sundry meteoric fragments set glowing by electricity at the lowest practicable temperatures. The "lines" thus obtained show coincidences of a remarkable kind with a number of rays, bright and dark, measured in the spectra of various heavenly bodies. The research has so far proved singularly fruitful, and is still being pursued with hopeful prospects. Already, by its means, several perplexing questions have been set at rest. Six out of seven faint rays observed in gaseous nebulae are now shown to be due to the emissions of hydrogen and "cool" magnesium, "coolness" being understood to signify a temperature of at least 3000° or 4000° Centigrade. The shining of the small, separate, solid bodies forming the mass of the nebulae simultaneously records itself in a feeble streak of "continuous" or prismatic light. It is scarcely too much to say that we now, for the first time, know what a nebula really is.

The extraordinary phenomena of "new stars," viewed with blank amazement by sixty generations of astronomers, now also begin to appear intelligible. The existence of a close relationship between them and nebulae became obvious through the transformation of the expiring "Nova" of 1876 into the semblance of a planetary nebula. Mr. Lockyer expounds the change by ascribing to the two kinds of object a substantially identical nature. Outbursts such as that in the constellation of the Swan are not, he tells us, occasioned by conflagrations of stars, but by collisions in space of oppositely moving meteor-swarms. Perhaps, however, the facts would be better harmonised by supposing a star to be one of the parties in such encounters. The effects of light would be the same, and in one case at least—that of *T Coronæ*—the stellar object thus raised to ephemeral brilliancy was known and had been catalogued in its previous obscure condition. The furrows of fire traced in the earth's atmosphere by the passage through it of the components of a "star shower" thus figure, not distantly, though on an infinitesimal scale, the outblaze in the depths of space of a star overwhelmed by the rushing squadrons of its meteoric assailants.

It is impossible to resist the conclusion that a similar cause is at work in producing the fluctuations of variable stars. They differ from the kindling of "new stars" only in recurring at more or less regular intervals, while a "Nova" flares up, so far as is known, once for all. Mr. Lockyer's experiments have relieved science of the burden of many fantastic speculations by dissipating some of the perplexity surrounding stellar light-changes. Meteoric action explains most of them easily and naturally, and may, with further thought

and study, be made to explain all. The *rationale* is no mere hypothesis, but rests upon spectroscopic coincidences of a striking character. The range of bright lines, for instance, displayed at maximum by the variable R Geminorum has been almost exactly reproduced from meteoric glows; and the whole class of red stars with banded spectra, among which nearly all "long-period" variables are found, show in their light unmistakable cometary affinities. There can be no doubt that their atmospheres are at all times laden with meteoric matter; and the further inference, that their phases are occasioned by periodical infalls of meteorites, is irresistible, and must meet with general assent.

Since the sun, by the alternate frequency and scarcity of its spots, shows what we may call a rudimentary variability, meteoric influences may well be thought to supply the secret spring of its phases. None of the heavenly bodies, in fact, appear to be exempt from the diffusive influence of the little bodies kindled and consumed by millions daily in our upper air without perceptible effect upon the conditions of our existence. The wide significance of the laboratory work at South Kensington thus becomes apparent, and it can scarcely fail to be powerfully effective, both in stimulating "astro-physical" research, and in directing it along certain definite lines.

**Another Flying Star.**—One of the most curious facts about the stars is the extraordinary and unaccountable speed with which some of them travel through space. Argelander's "flying star" in the Great Bear ("Groombridge 1830") has hitherto been the swiftest-moving sidereal object known. Its apparent displacement seems indeed at first sight to proceed very gradually; it requires no less than 256 years to cross as much of the sky as the diameter of the full moon covers. We can gain an idea of its real velocity only by taking into account its extreme remoteness. Groombridge 1830 is separated from our system by an interval so portentous, that light itself takes thirty-six years to cross it. We thus see the star in the situation it occupied thirty-six years back; during each second of which time it has travelled at least 200 miles. We say "at least," because movement perpendicular to the line of sight can alone be directly measured; if oblique, only a part of it tells in apparent displacement. Now we are ignorant of the actual direction in space of the movement of Argelander's star; hence, 200 miles a second is a minimum estimate of its rate.

It is now found to be largely surpassed. A star of the fifth magnitude in Cassiopeia's Chair has long been known to possess a proper motion large by comparison with that of most other stars, though smaller than that of 1830 Groombridge. But its yearly shift of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  seconds of arc could not be translated into miles per second until its distance from the earth was known; and Bessel's attempt to determine it failed. Quite lately, however, Professor Pritchard, the distinguished occupant of the Savilian Chair of Astronomy at Oxford, has succeeded, by photographic means, in measuring the almost infinitesimal perspective displacement by which Mu Cassiopeiae reflects

the orbital revolution of the earth. The star, in technical language, is discovered to have an annual parallax of  $0''.04$ . Its distance is hence above twice that of 1830 Groombridge, and its real movement much more rapid. It rushes through space, under what compulsion we know not, at the astounding pace of 320 miles per second.

Such velocities are, in Professor Newcomb's opinion, inexplicable by the effects of gravity within the sidereal system. The combined mass of all the stars composing it is, on any probable estimate, wholly inadequate to impart or control them. He accordingly ranked 1830 Groombridge as a "runaway star," escaped from some other remote cosmical agglomeration, and steering a straight course right through the Milky Way, almost unaffected by its perturbing influences. In *Mu Cassiopeiæ* it finds a companion in its truant courses: unless, indeed, Mr. Maxwell Hall's hypothesis as to the high eccentricity of certain stellar orbits be verified. In this view (as yet a very doubtful one), "runaway stars" travel like many comets, in excessively elongated ellipses, and owe their present abnormal velocities to their near approach to the centre of motion. These will, as they retire from it, gradually slacken, until, at ap-astron, they touch the opposite extreme of pre-eminent sluggishness.

Pritchard's "flying star" must, in any case, be a very considerable body. At its vast distance, our sun would be far out of reach of the keenest sight; yet *Mu Cassiopeiæ* is about twice as bright as the faintest stars ordinarily visible in our skies. A rough calculation shows that if its luminous surface possess the same intrinsic brilliancy as the solar photosphere, it must be about twelve times as extensive, while its mass, assuming equal average densities, is equivalent to that of forty suns. Planets circling round it at the same distances as in the solar system would hence travel with more than sextuple velocity. The earth, for instance, placed at ninety-three million miles from *Mu Cassiopeiæ*, should quicken its pace to 120 miles a second under penalty of being drawn so close to the centre as to get fairly scorched; and the year would be instantly reduced from 365 to 58 days.

**The Satellite of Venus.**—The discovery of a supposed satellite to Venus was made by Fontana at Naples, November 11, 1645. The last observations of it dated from Copenhagen in 1768. Numerous intermediate ones, tested and controlled by competent astronomers, certified their objective character. Cassini saw the "Venus-moon" in 1672 and 1686; Short, the famous optician, in 1740; Père Lagrange viewed it at Marseilles on three successive nights of February 1761; Montaigne a month later; Roedkiaer, Horrebow, and other Copenhagen observers, frequently from 1761 to 1768. Frederick the Great desired that it should be named after the mathematician and encyclopædist, D'Alembert. Johann Heinrich Lambert calculated its orbit, which unexpectedly proved to be such as to imply, for its primary, a mass ten times greater than was on other grounds admissible. The belief in the substantial reality of the satellite was

consequently abandoned, or much enfeebled; but the puzzle of how to account for so well authenticated a series of observations still remained, and has ever since continued to exercise the ingenuity of astronomers.

The deceptive effects, of whatever nature, ceased with the invention of the achromatic telescope. It is now 120 years since the "satellite of Venus" has been seen, notwithstanding attentive scrutiny with the best instruments both during transits and at other times. Professor Pickering has shown experimentally that an object of the kind, to escape detection with the Harvard fifteen-inch refractor, should be of no more than  $\frac{1}{1000000}$  the brightness of Venus. The only possible Cytherean attendant is thus a toy-moon five or six miles across.

What, then, was the object scrutinized by Short, Montaigne, Lagrange, Horrebow? They took ample precautions against being deluded by false images, or telescopic "ghosts;" the circumstances were incompatible with the supposition that they observed reflections of the planet itself from ice crystals in our atmosphere. M. Houzeau of Brussels, discerned, in 1884, a curious periodicity in the apparitions recorded, leading him to connect them with the revolutions of a body coming into apparent conjunction with Venus once in a little less than three years. He called this unknown member of the solar family by the name of the veiled Egyptian goddess Neith, and placed it not far outside the orbit of Venus, and in independent circulation round the sun in a period of 283 days. But "Neith" shows no disposition to reveal an identity, which the still more recent investigations of M. Stroobant, another Belgian astronomer, threatens with annihilation. They prove beyond question that some of the observations of the pseudo-satellite referred to fixed stars near which Venus happened to be passing at the time they were made; others, it is thought, may fit some of the brighter asteroids, and there may possibly remain a residue of optical illusion. It is worth noting, meanwhile, that the "parvum lumen" perceived January 4, 1768, at a distance from Venus about equal to the breadth of the planet's disc, was positively declared by Horrebow to be of a non-stellar character, real stars simultaneously visible in the field of the telescope presenting quite a different aspect.

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## *Notes of Travel and Exploration.*

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**Journey through Yemen.**—Major-General Haig at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on June 27, 1887, read an interesting account of a recent journey through the ancient Arabia Felix, from Hodeida on the western coast to Sanaa, the capital, a

distance of 140 miles, and thence due south to Aden, 260 miles. Mules were the transport animals used, the roads traversed being such as to try their powers of climbing to the utmost, though it is said that camels will go wherever mules can. At about 75 miles from the coast, beyond El Hujjela, the mountain country of Yemen proper was entered, and here ranges of 6,000 and even 8,000 feet high came into view, the highest points invariably crowned by a village and castle sculptured against the sky. After passing one of these eyries a striking scene was disclosed.

**Coffee Cultivation in Arabia.**—The village was perched (says the traveller), as the villages always are, on top of a precipitous mass of rock at the end of a spur, and from it I looked down 2,000 feet into the torrent-bed below, and 4,000 feet up to the top of the mountain, and everywhere, both above and below, to the right and to the left, I saw nothing but terraces. The whole mountain side for a height of 6,000 feet was terraced from top to bottom. The crops had all been removed; only some lines of coffee trees here and there were to be seen, but everywhere, above, below, and all around, these flights of terrace walls met the eye. One can hardly conceive the enormous amount of labour, toil, and perseverance which these represent. The terrace walls are usually from 5 to 8 feet in height, but towards the top of the mountain they are much higher, being sometimes as much as 15 to 18 feet. They are built entirely of rough stone laid without mortar. I reckoned on an average that each wall retains a terrace not more than twice its own height in width. So steep in fact is the mountain that the zigzag continues almost the whole way to the top. It has been made with considerable care, and though its surface is often rough and broken the wall which retains it is generally in good repair. This was indeed the most striking characteristic of the whole mass of terrace walls, the excellent condition in which they are maintained. I do not think I saw a single breach in one of them unrepaired. It is impossible not to feel that a race which has erected such a marvellous monument of human industry as this one mountain side displays, possesses capacities fitting it not only for a far higher civilization, but for no mean place in the scale of nationalities. The whole of the crops are grown on these terraces—wheat and barley, coffee and indigo, fruits and vegetables.

**Capital of Yemen.**—A pass of 10,000 feet high in the midst of magnificent mountain scenery had to be crossed before reaching Sanaa, itself 7,700 feet above the sea. It is surrounded by a wall of brick and earth forming a circuit of some miles, and enclosing a space capable of containing a much larger population than the present, roughly estimated at from 30,000 to 35,000. The Jewish quarter, with a population of 5,000, is separated from the rest of the town by a broad space 150 yards across. The Arabs are described as intensely hating the few thousand Turks by whom they are held down. The latter are not allowed to go into the narrow streets for fear of assassination, and the guns of the fort are always pointed on the town. Coffee and hides are the principal exports of Yemen, but it is rich in many other products. Grapes can be had through half the year, and fruits and vegetables are grown in profusion.

**Adventures in the Western Sahara.**—M. Camille Douls, a French traveller, has published an interesting narrative of his wander-



ings in the desert, reproduced in the *Times* of October 11 and 14. The adventurous traveller, in the disguise of a Mussulman, had himself landed from a fishing-boat on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, and quickly fell into the hands of a troop of natives who seized his belongings, and were on the point of putting him to death as a Christian. As a preliminary, however, they conducted him, still in irons, to the camp of a Moorish divine, Sheikh Mulainin, who made him recite a chapter of the Koran, and pronounced him orthodox, but his captors being still incredulous they submitted the case to another inquisitor, a venerable hadji, who declared him to be a Turk. This suggestion, gladly assented to by the traveller, being accepted as satisfactory, his chains were struck off, and he was treated thenceforth as an Arab nomad. During five months he traversed the desert with his captors, reaching the great depression of El Juf, and the oasis of Tenduf, the greatest slave market of Northern Africa, returning thence to its nearest outlet, Cape Juby, the factory of the North-West African Company, whence the Ouad Draa, the southern limit of the Morocco Empire was reached.

**Life of the Nomads.**—The Western Sahara (he says) is divided physically and politically into two parts. The north, as far as the tropics, is inhabited by the nomads, the south, to Senegal, by settled tribes; but my explorations being confined to the territory of the wandering Arab shepherds, I will confine myself to that ground. These roaming sons of the desert are the product of three different races—the Arabs of the east, the Berbers or original inhabitants of Barbary, and the blacks or negroes, who have been their slaves from time immemorial. In different tribes one or the other of these races is dominant. The nomads are independent, each tribe having its own ruler, though they acknowledge the moral authority of certain holy men who arbitrate in disputed cases. Such is the influence of Sheikh Mulainin and Sheikh Dagman el Arousin. The tent is a veritable academy, and I have met but few Arabs who could not read the Koran fluently. Their soberness is extreme, and they rely mostly for nourishment on camels' milk, which they drink only once in twenty-four hours. The richer among them, however, kill and eat a sheep every ten days; this they boil and eat without salt or other seasoning, and without bread. When travelling, the settled tribes from whom they receive hospitality *en route* give them instead of milk a piece of barley-cake. This is the sole nutriment of the nomadic Arab. Their costume is composed of one long garment of blue cotton. The men generally wear long hair, and both sexes, because of the driving sand, have their faces closely veiled to prevent suffocation and protect their eyes. Their only domestic animals are sheep, goats, and camels. The camel goes ten days without water, the sheep and goats five or six days only.

**Oasis of Tenduf.**—Tenduf, though but a small place, being the only town in the desert, ranks among the Arabs as a capital. This town, founded in 1857, has made great progress, and to-day possesses from 200 to 300 houses, made of clay or mud, like all in Southern Morocco. The mosque, of which the minaret is very lofty, is seen far over the desert. Lost in a desert of sand, Tenduf is a delicious oasis. Its walls, pierced by four gates, are surrounded by gardens watered by numerous wells, and palms environ the town like a verdant crown. This beautiful spot is renowned above everything for its splendid slave market. The caravans



which cross the desert from the south leave here three-fourths of their negroes, who are thence distributed over Northern Africa. The remainder pass to Morocco. Dr. Lenz, in his famous journey, had, in 1890, visited Tenduf before me.

**Escape of the Traveller.**—M. Douls effected his escape by stratagem, for, his Arab host having proposed to marry him to his daughter Eliazize, he obtained permission to enter Morocco in order to procure the marriage portion, among the Arabs always paid by the husband. The country south of Morocco he describes as traversed by numerous ancient river courses, now dry. In the territory of Morocco the traveller was provided with a donkey and a guide to cross the southern province of Sous, a region rich in agricultural produce as well as in mineral wealth, and inhabited by Berbers, who speak a language different from Moorish or Arabic, and are more sociable and less fanatical than the inhabitants of the other provinces. Crossing the Atlas range, the wanderer reached the city of Marakesh (Morocco), the capital of Western Islam, but was here thrown into irons by order of the Sultan, in consequence of having passed through Sous, which is closed to travellers. His fate would probably have been death, had not his place of incarceration been discovered by Mr. Ferguson, an Englishman, by whose intervention and that of the British Minister, he was eventually enabled to reach Mogador.

**Catholic Propaganda in the Balkans.**—A telegram from Vienna of October 20, 1887, states that the preaching of Catholicity has made such progress in the vilayet of Adrianople that within the month three whole villages had embraced the faith of Rome. The Bulgarian Archbishop is said to be so alarmed at the inroads on his flock as to have addressed a complaint direct to the Czar.

**Sudden Decline of Kurrachee.**—The decline in the trade of the port of Kurrachee is beginning to cause serious anxiety to its inhabitants and the Indian authorities generally. Originally a Belooch fishing village, its rise to wealth and importance during the last fifty years was so rapid and continuous as to threaten the supremacy of Bombay as the emporium of Western India. Its trade, amounting to a value of £120,000 when it became a British port in 1842, had in 1882-3 risen to £7,077,084, having doubled in the nine years from 1874 to 1883. It has, in addition, a coasting trade of £3,300,000. Of its population of 73,560 the majority are Mohammedans, but there are 24,617 Hindus, and nearly a thousand Parsis, who, as usual, are the chief traders of the place. As the capital of Scinde, it has considerable political importance, while its position, several days nearer the Afghan frontier than Bombay, gives it an appreciable strategical advantage over the latter. Hence the sudden decline in its trade since 1886 is a matter of public concern. In wheat and rice, its principal exports, the decrease is most marked, since the figure of 463,815 cwt. for the former article during the first eight months of 1887 is but a sixth of that of 2,737,372 cwt. exported during the corresponding period of the previous year, while the export of rice—9,741 cwt. for 1887—is but an eleventh of that

for 1886 (110,520 cwt.). In imports, chiefly iron and piece goods, there is a sensible decrease likewise, and the change is likely to be progressive unless checked by improved communication with the interior. The construction of a line of railway is therefore proposed, to connect Hyderabad with Omerkote and Scinde, and the latter with Pachbadra in the Jodhpur State; thus bringing the North-Western Railway into connection with the Bombay and Baroda, and Rajputana State Railways, and linking Kurrachee with Ajmir, Agra, and Delhi. The line would be but 240 miles in length, and the Maharaja of Jodhpur would construct, at his own expense, the section of 100 miles through his dominions.

**Survey of Siam.**—The encroachments of French conquest in the Further East suggest the idea that a Siamese Question may be looming in the future. Hence peculiar interest attaches to the recent survey of the country made, by order of the King, by Mr. James McCarthy, who read at the British Association a paper embodying his observations during his seven years' labours. The population, variously estimated at from 7 to 20 millions, does not, in his opinion, exceed 10 millions, and comprises, in addition to Siamese proper, Cambodians, Annamites, Burmans, Malays, and Chinese, the latter forming a large element, particularly in the capital, Bangkok. There are various tributary peoples, the most important being the Lao, occupying the mountainous country to the north, and divided into two sections, of which one, like the Burmese, tatoo the body from the waist to the knee, while the other leave their persons unadorned. The climate is governed by the monsoons, the south-west monsoon, from May to September, bringing rains; while during the north-east monsoon, from September to February, dry weather and cool breezes prevail. The heat in the interior is very great, but in Bangkok the thermometer seldom rises to 95°, and sometimes falls as low as 60°.

**Mountain and River System.**—Siam proper is mostly flat, diversified by isolated hills and jagged limestone chains, but some peaks on the Burmese frontier rise to 7,000 feet, and one in the Malay peninsula to 8,000 feet. Its principal geographical feature is its magnificent river system, affording water communication throughout its entire extent. The principal river is the one on which the capital stands, generally known as the Me-Nam, though this is a generic river name signifying Mother of Waters. It bifurcates at about 100 miles from the sea, forming an alluvial delta, principally cultivated with rice and thickly studded with villages. Two other great rivers, the Mekong, flowing from the Burmese frontier, and the Bangpakong, from the Khorat plateau, converge towards the head of the Gulf of Siam, and as all these streams are connected by canals, they form a network of waters, alive with boats and rafts of bamboo and teak, guided by a truly amphibious population.

**Siamese Towns.**—Villages and hamlets, principally built of wood, cluster along the rivers, but Bangkok is remarkable for its

architectural splendours, and the southward progress of the Siamese can be traced by the imposing ruins of seven previous capitals.

The numerous canals which intersect Bangkok have procured for it the name of the Venice of the East, and its population, estimated at from 300,000 to 800,000, is in constant movement on the watery streets of the city. Zimmé, the principal town on the Burmese frontier, is a walled city about five miles in circumference, having direct water communication with the capital, but at a distance of fifty days' journey. Its daily market is principally managed by women, of whom about 1,500 are employed there. It is attended by many of the aborigines of the remote hill-tribes, and salt passes current there as money.

**Trade of Siam.**—The chief exports of Siam are rice, cattle, sugar, pepper, cardamoms, and ivory, exchanged principally for machinery and Manchester goods, while tin, lead, gold, and rubber are exported from the Malay peninsula. The country is traversed by Burmese pedlars, who have made the Indian rupee current everywhere.

The population is peaceable, and disorder is almost unknown. Theft, being in some provinces a capital crime, scarcely exists, about one execution for this cause taking place in three years. The present king is a man of culture and intelligence, and a beneficent ruler. He and the princes themselves edit educational books, and the material development of the country is forwarded by the extension of postal and telegraph communication. The diminution of profits in the teak trade, though its volume remains undiminished, is pointed out in the report of Mr. Gould, Consul in Bangkok, on the trade of Siam for 1886-7. The export trade is almost entirely in the hands of British merchants, and they have now begun to invest money also in forest operations, which have hitherto been principally conducted by British Burmese. The diminution of profits will probably cause merchants and saw-mill owners to direct increasing attention to this branch of the trade, by engaging in which they can secure a more regular supply of timber, and on more favourable terms than by purchasing in the open market. The price of pepper having doubled within the last six years, many new pepper plantations have been started, and there will soon be a considerable increase in the annual production. The most noticeable feature in the year's import trade was the decline in the importation of cottons, which was less by £100,000 than in 1885. The bad rice crop of that year, which impoverished the people, was doubtless the cause of their falling off as customers. Mr. Gould complains of the manner in which the customs dues are collected, admitting of their evasion by dishonest traders, who are thus enabled to compete unfairly with the respectable merchants.

**Burmese Railway Construction.**—A telegram from Rangoon of September 26 describes the proposed Mee Valley Railway, which, including the branch to the Chindwin Valley, will have a length of 360 miles, and will cost, according to the estimate of Major Gracey,

Chief Engineer for Upper Burmah, 60,000 rupees a mile. It is hoped that the line, within two years of its opening, will pay 2 per cent. on the capital expended, and in six or eight years at least 4 per cent. In view of the remarkable financial results of the railways in Lower Burmah, which have had a success unprecedented in the history of Indian railways, this estimate may be regarded as a moderate one. The two rich and productive valleys of Mee and Chindwin will be opened up by the proposed line, which will run for greater part of its length through fertile paddy-lands or fine forests, and will reach at Myoung the head-quarters of the india-rubber and jade-stone trades, and the distributing centre of the salt trade, all industries capable of large development. At Paungbyin, the other terminus of the line, a very productive rice district, whose forests contain large quantities of india-rubber, will be opened up. A short branch from Mandalay to Ava on the Irawadi will bring the new line into connection with the existing Toungoo-Mandalay line, and it is also proposed to establish a steam ferry from Ava to Tsagain on the opposite bank. The constant changes in the channel of the Irawadi will render this section difficult of construction, and the crossing of the stream by the steam ferry will at some seasons be anything but easy. It is proposed to commence next year the construction of the first 80 miles from Tsagain to Myana.

**New Maritime Canal.**—The project of a canal from Bordeaux to Narbonne, connecting the Atlantic with the Mediterranean, first mooted twenty years ago, has been recently revived. A company formed last summer undertook a preliminary survey, and have promulgated a scheme, according to which the canal, with a length of 330 miles from sea to sea, would start from the western side of Bordeaux, and after following the left bank of the Garonne for 50 miles, would cross the river at Castel Sarraasin by a *pont-canal* or aqueduct, to follow the right bank to Toulouse, where a large port would be created. From Toulouse to the Mediterranean seaboard at Narbonne it would twice cross the existing Canal du Midi, and would have 33 locks, with a fall of from 20 to 30 feet. The curves are to have the same radius as those of the Suez Canal, that is not less than 6,000 feet, and the depth proposed is 24 feet, though the projectors are prepared to add 3 feet to this should the Minister of Marine determine on using it for the first-class ironclads of the French navy. Traction is to be supplied by locomotives of from 1,000 to 1,200 horse power, running on a line of rails along the banks, and by this means an average speed of seven miles an hour will be attained, while the engines will also be used to generate electricity as the illuminant of the canal. The total cost is put down at £26,000,000, less than half the original estimate, and the abridgment of distance to vessels from the French western ports would be 680 miles.

**Fluctuations in the Population of China.**—The *North China Herald*, of Shanghai, gives statistics as to the population of China, based on a recent census for the greater part of the empire. The

returns are presented by the local magistrates, to whom the village bailiffs are bound to report the population of their districts every spring. The general tendency is to understate the numbers, from the desire of fathers to screen their sons from conscription. The total arrived at by the information thus available, is about 392 millions, exclusive of such outlying dependencies as Kashgaria, Tibet, Kuldja and Corea. In 1760, the revenue returns gave the population as 197 millions, and in 1822, the first year of Tao-Kwang, it amounted to 355 millions, an annual increase of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions a year, the same as that between 1820 and 1848. The reasons for this constant increase are always at work, and among them are enumerated the universality of early marriages, the fertility of the soil, and the thrifty habits and industrial skill of the people. The conclusion arrived at by the writer is, that none of the provinces are populated up to the point at which the soil ceases to be able to maintain its inhabitants. In case of drought and war the people migrate from province to province, each in turn being thickly peopled, and it is thought that with modern resources to hinder famine and civil war, a population of 800 millions might be maintained. Very striking fluctuations were produced by migrations due to the Taiping rebellion, and while most of the provinces show large diminutions, others show large growth of population during that convulsion. A decrease of 18 millions is recorded in Chili, the metropolitan province; in Chekiang and Kansu, on the Yangtse, an equal falling off is shown, and in two other provinces it is set down at 16 and 14 millions respectively. But Yunnan increased by nearly 6 and Hupeh by 5 millions, Kwangtung by  $8\frac{1}{2}$ , and Szechuen by the extraordinary figure of 45 millions. The vast and continually increasing population of 71 millions contained in this latter province, is due to its exemption from war during many years, its mountain barriers having proved an effectual protection. An attempt is now being made by Mr. Archibald Little to navigate the Yangtse up to Chung-king, the commercial capital of this region, and should he succeed in doing so, British goods may be conveyed, with a single transshipment, 1700 miles into the heart of Asia, paying only a tax of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*. The merchants of Chung-king are said to be the richest in China, and the province, in addition to silk, opium, vegetable wax, sugar, wheat, barley, rice, beans, and various medicinal plants, produces gold, silver, iron, lead, copper and coal.—*Times*, October 12, 1887.

**Nicaragua Canal.**—The treaty signed on March 23, 1887, by M. Menocal, on behalf of the Nicaragua Canal Association, with the Commissary of the Nicaraguan Government, having been ratified by the United States Senate and House of Representatives, this project appears to be seriously entertained. The concession is for 99 years, and includes powers to construct a railway as well as the Canal, of which the ports and waters are to remain neutral and free to the transit of all comers, even in time of war. The company is inhibited from transferring the canal to any foreign government, and

5 per cent. at least of its capital is reserved for the Governments and citizens of Central America who may wish to subscribe to it. The total length of the Canal will be 169·8 miles, of which 40·3 will be excavation. Its course will begin at Puerto, following the valley of the Rio Grande, and that of the Rio Lajas, to the Lake of Nicaragua, which it will traverse to the point whence the San Juan issues, thence utilizing the course of the latter stream to its junction with the San Francisco. The waters of the San Juan will be retained by a great barrage at Ochoa, east of the mouth of the San Carlos, by which means a second large lake with the same level as that of Nicaragua, will be artificially created. The lower part of the inter-oceanic highway will reach the port of Greytown by a circuitous course through the mountains. The Canal will be on the scale of great ship-canal, 80 to 120 feet floor, and 28 feet deep, but will differ from them in having 9 locks 550 feet in length, with a lift of 30 feet. The total cost is estimated at £12,807,240. The concession includes grants of land, free gift of materials for construction, and other privileges to be paid for by the payment of 6 per cent. of its shares, and the reversionary property of the Canal at the end of the term of 99 years.

**Difficulties of the Panama Canal.**—A very discouraging account of the state of the works on the Isthmus last summer was given by M. Boulangé, for three years chief of a section, at a meeting of the American Society of Civil Engineers in New York. Down to January, 1887, but 30 million cubic metres of excavation had been effected, out of a total variously estimated at from 120 to 140 million. The works were not executed on any general plan, and the engineers were working at haphazard on their respective sections. The speaker had applied in vain for a map and profile, and found that the only one in existence was one made by Lieut. Wyse from his preliminary survey, which was a mere reconnaissance. In several places short lengths have been excavated without any survey of the intervening ground, or indication given for point of junction. He believes that much of the present work will have to be abandoned, and a large part of the cutting remade on different lines. In one spot a dredge has been engaged for nearly a year in taking soft mud from the bottom and dumping it on the bank where the ground is so spongy that the lateral pressure of the rubbish discharged forces up the bed of the canal, and the dredge barely holds its own. A section of 16 kilometres from Colon inland, with a depth of two metres, is actually completed, and this portion is open for such traffic as it can carry. Meantime an unexpected difficulty has been encountered in the great cutting of the Cordillera, at Culebra, intended to have a depth of 350 feet and a top width of 500 feet. The excavation here is now 38 feet deep and 70 feet wide, but the displacement of this mass has caused a singular phenomenon, the movement of the whole mountain towards the canal, at the rate of 11 inches to 12 inches a year. It was probably to this fact that M. de Lesseps alluded in his enigmatical utterance to the shareholders in July, 1887: *Il est*



*certain qu'aucune puissance humaine ne saurait nous garantir contre l'imprévu qui reside dans les mystères géologiques du massif central.* Meantime the sacrifice of life is enormous, the death-rate in one year having been 60 per cent. of all labourers and 80 per cent. of whites.

**M. de Lesseps' "Simplifications."**—M. de Lesseps' present plan is, as he candidly admits, to hurry on the opening of the canal in a semi-completed condition, as it will not matter (he says) if the most difficult part of the undertaking remains to be executed, since the fresh capital attracted by the prestige of the opening will enable it to be completed later. Hence the proposed modification of the original scheme on two cardinal points. The first is the abandonment of the great embankment of the Chagres, at Gamboa, where the unruly river was to have been dammed up in a lateral valley, forming a vast reservoir for the retention of its flood waters. A stream which has been known to rise 21 feet in four hours, and whose low water dimensions of 209 feet wide by 7 feet 6 inches deep were swollen by the flood of November 5, 1885, to a width of 1,560 feet, and a depth of 28, is obviously a dangerous neighbour, and its maximum flood flow of 56,496 cubic feet per second would give a current of over 13 miles an hour if its waters all went in one direction, or half that if they were sent on opposite courses. Either velocity would suffice to sweep the canal of all machinery and tackle, burying them under fathoms of silt and mud.

M. de Lesseps' second "simplification" is even more incomprehensible. It is the abandonment of the tide lock at Panama, necessitated by the difference between the Pacific tide, with a rise at that point of from 20 to 27 feet, and that of the Atlantic, of scarce as many inches. Admitted unchecked to the narrow waterway, 50 miles long, the tidal wave would rush through it with a bore like that of the rivers of the Bay of Bengal. The Chagres may remain many months without a great freshet, but the tidal perturbations must be looked for twice a day, hence it is difficult to see how the most perfunctory opening of the channel can be attempted while it is exposed to them.

**Financial Position of the Canal.**—Official accounts declare the total expenditure down to June, 1886, at £24,069,056, exceeding by the odd figures M. de Lesseps' original estimate of the entire cost, while the excavation in January, 1887, was stated at 30 million cubic metres, or about one-fourth of the entire. Of this mass 11,727,000 had been raised in the previous year, representing a slightly accelerated rate of progress. On June 30, 1887, the available funds in hand amounted to but £5,729,337 less than the expenditure for the previous year (£5,772,444), even without allowing for interest on shares and other charges already due. Meanwhile fresh loans raised from year to year are floated at a discount of 55 to 56 per cent., so that the nominal 20 million of 1886 produced but 9 million, and that of 1887, even at a similar discount, produced little more than half the amount demanded, £4,720,000, instead of



9 million. The total liabilities of the Company are estimated at from 60 to 70 million, while its assets are less than a year's working expenses. The shares, nominally worth 500 francs, touched, on December 3, 1887, 256 francs, and M. de Lesseps sees himself under the necessity of making a fresh appeal to public confidence.

**New Proposal of M. de Lesseps.**—He accordingly, in a letter addressed to the Premier on November 15, requests the authorization of the Government for the issue of Lottery Bonds, illegal without such sanction, for a preliminary sum of 265 million francs, the balance of the loan of 600 francs authorized by the shareholders in July, 1887, and only partially subscribed by the public. He further proposes to raise, in the same way, 300 million for subsequent works to be executed in 1889, and eventually to convert the whole stock in similar fashion. He states his balance in hand, after paying liabilities up to January 1, 1888, at 110 million francs, only sufficient for a few months' expenses. The political crisis in France intervened before the answer to his application, which the Government may have to sanction, in order to avert a national disaster. They had, however, vetoed a similar proposal for the loan of 1887, after the report of their own engineer, sent out to inspect the works on the spot.

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## Notes on Novels.

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*The New Antigone.* A Romance. In three vols. London : Macmillan & Co. 1887.

THIS "romance," which report attributes to the pen of a reverend doctor with literary tastes and leisure, is certainly a romance—in the sense that it has very little connection with actual facts. The heroine is a young lady who has been brought up by a melodramatic father, without any acquaintance with either the Ten Commandments or the Seven Sacraments. She falls in love with an artist, and insists on his "marrying" her without any wedding, under penalty of driving her to suicide. He does so, and they live very happily together until the lady, after noting the disastrous effects of "free love" among the humbler classes, attends a sermon (the style of which is very much that of the reverend writer's own moralizations) and "rushes" out of the church to write a farewell note to the artist, and to hide herself in a convent in Spain. The moral of the book, it is to be presumed, is that a young woman who tries to set the world free from religious trammels, is certain to find, by hard experience, that whatever she may profess, there is such a thing as "sin," and such a thing, therefore,

as moral obligation; and that, moreover, Christianity is the only way to prevent or redeem sin. It is not easy to follow the author's logic. What is it that convinces Hippolyta that her union with Rupert is sinful? Apparently, it is the fact that a certain scoundrel betrays a foolish girl who throws herself in his way. But, on Hippolyta's theories, this should no more prove her wrong than the roguery of a joint-stock director proves the joint-stock principle to be immoral. As for the sermon which leads her to Christianity, its burthen is that the wages of sin is death; but, to Hippolyta, it would only prove that the result of a bad speculation is loss. It is to be feared that the foundations of morality will be very unsound if they are laid in a sentimental quagmire such as we have in these volumes. Morality can only rest on that evidence of a being's nature and final end which we can gather from rationally considering it. Sexual morality, as it is laid down by the law of Jesus Christ, is far more difficult to prove by the light of reason than is general morality. The author, in choosing to fight his battle against "independent morality" on the ground of the union of the sexes, has perhaps secured an interested audience, but we do not see that he has effectually advanced his cause. For the rest, the three volumes are not devoid of interest. There is an earl, as good as gold, but feeble, even in his eccentricities. He has a daughter, Lady May, who is in love with Rupert, the artist who is painting the Great Hall. But the artist, having encountered Hippolyta, will have none of Lady May, who thereupon nurses in her breast the baleful flames of jealousy, which subsequently force her into very strong language indeed; for an earl's daughter, in a "romance," always begins by being stately and calm. Hippolyta herself, as we have said, is the daughter of a Byronic, Bulwerian, Disraelitic Colonel, who has sacked convents, and led (small) revolutions, but who, at the moment of the story, is given to wandering aimlessly about the country with a stick, falling asleep in church porches, and writing his diary, until at last he goes off to attend, at a safe distance, the assassination of the Emperor Nicholas, reappearing in London at a meeting of a secret society, with a (wholly unnecessary) cloak concealing the lower part of his face. There are two other principal actors, a certain Tom Duncombe, who is the stupid, clean, sporting and cheerful young Englishman of contemporary fiction; and a Countess with a Russian name who—need we say it?—is vivacious, unscrupulous and clever, and tells lies with such a will that the necessary complications are brought about with the greatest ease in the world. The story, though written with real eloquence, does not get on at all fast. Indeed, we have always found that eloquence in a story-writer operated as a drag on his performance; even in such characters as Captain Dalgetty and Dr. Marigold, where the eloquence is thrown into the persons of the drama, we only tolerate it because it is so amusing. But it is much more objectionable when the writer,

either with or without disguise, uses his "romance" as a sort of *Nineteenth Century*, "informing," for that purpose, certain nebulous and chaotic matter which we may guess would, under other circumstances, have been offered to an able editor. We have not only pages and pages of eloquent prose about all sorts of things, but we have elaborate analysis of character before we have begun to care whether the subjects have any character at all. Besides this we have no less than three long and complete biographical reminiscences—one character after another coming on the stage with the well-known "It is now some five-and-twenty years ago," or the equivalent, which the experienced and cold-blooded novel-reader has learnt so well to dread. One of these pieces of history is in the form of a diary, which the reader is supposed to see. It is a diary of the Bulwer type, in which a man, who is in other respects stern, short, strong and imperious, is made to write down his adventures with a relish which at once would have proved him to be a humbug, and to interperse them with cheap sentiment, which would have made it equally clear that he was a donkey. Perhaps there are really some of these men; the writer may know them better than we do. But the diary of Colonel Valence, the internationalist, is a work which would in real life have been so dangerous to leave about, that it may be pardonably presumed he never would have been foolish enough to write it unless the interests of the author had required it. When the story does begin to move there are one or two strong situations. But there is no adequate reason for Hippolyta's flight from the man with whom she had been united. Surely it would have been a truer morality for her to have simply married him. She seems to have had no vocation, after all, for the cloister proper; for she wanders about the convent in Spain, and interviews gentlemen, after a fashion which shows her to be only a sort of "tertiary." Towards the end of volume three, Lady May (now married to her artist) jumps into a lake in a fit of desperation at the reappearance of Hippolyta. She is saved by Ivor Mardol, a young man who has pervaded the story as an eccentric genius. He dies of it, in a few pages, after turning out to be Hippolyta's long-lost brother. Hippolyta, now a Catholic, ministers at his deathbed, and he dies like a saint; but, strangely enough, although she knows, and says, that he never was baptized, she does not attempt to have baptism administered; and when he has to lie in unconsecrated ground, she "smiles" and says nothing. As these two are the "good people" of the story—beginning in innocent wrong, but ending in justice and peace—it would seem to be the writer's view that there is very little difference, as to the next world, whether you die a Catholic or an unbaptized humanitarian. The death of Ivor is the only one that we are called upon to weep over. It is perhaps to the credit of the writer that he does not cut the knot of his intrigue by killing any one; for poor Ivor has really nothing to do with the plot; though he leaves a "diary" and solemnly hands it to Rupert on his deathbed. We had forgotten the death of the old earl, which seems to have been ordained merely to save his

expenses back from Spain to England; and perhaps to give the author an opportunity of admiring the "solemn service, musical and heart-subduing, which the Liturgy of the English Church has consecrated to the dead." The burial service of the Anglican heresy may be musical; but since, apart from the Scriptural language used, its chief effect is to impress upon the hearers that a man is sure to be saved, whatever may have been the wickedness of his life, a Catholic writer need not have called it "heart-subduing." We should rather call it revolting. On the whole, we may say of this book that it is eloquently written, but that the author is much too vague in his notions of faith and morality. It cannot serve any good purpose to base morality on mere impulse, to present the negative virtues of a heathen as equal to faith, hope, and charity; and to mix up all kinds of views, ends and aspirations that spring from humanity without an attempt to estimate their relative value by the light of Catholic moral theology.

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*The Gaverocks: A Tale of the Cornish Coast.* By the Author of "John Herring," "Mehalah," &c. Three vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1887.

THESE three volumes are so far in merit above the average novel, that one is disposed to complain because they are not better. First of all, there is a feebly supernatural element in the story which to some extent damages it. The apparition of "Red Feather-stone's" boat in the admirable sea-adventure narrated in the first volume, would have been not only tolerable but delightful had not the writer first of all added a stupid note to tell us he was "working in" (!) some tradition of the Cornish coast, and then, a few pages afterwards, explained the whole thing away. The pedlar and his spotted dog are a much more decided failure than the Rover's bark, for they are nuisances from the first. A good deal of "business" is made out of this pair, but romance refuses to be generated. In vain the pedlar concentrates in himself every kind of weird effect; in vain he has a hunch—"not an ordinary hunch"—a band round his head with a peacock's feather and a Cornish crystal in it, a coppery complexion, and eyes from the hollow sockets of which "gleams a mixture" of appeal, provocation, insolence, and deference; in vain he has a basket with a toad at the bottom of it, and a small double-barrelled pistol that looks like a reptile; in vain he has a dog which appears in the most unexpected way whenever any of the characters feel in any degree diabolical. The wary reader knows that the author of "John Herring" dare not introduce a *bond fide* demon even into a tale of the Cornish coast, and so the pedlar's eye cuts people ("like a blast of east wind and snow"), and the spotted dog runs about and sits on its tail; and they are decided bores before the end of the story. But everything else is very good. There is just enough unconventionality among the natives of the Cornish coast to supply the surroundings of a tragedy. As far as the story goes,

no one in that neighbourhood ever seems to have heard of Christianity, unless we except Paul Featherstone, who is intended by the author to be a Christian of the purest strain, but who is asked by his worthless neighbour (not altogether without some sympathy on the part of the reader) if he had not better apply to the Bishop for a license to preach. The other characters are the natural man (and woman); the old Squire, with his terrible temper and distressing head of hair; his son Gerans, who begins by being weak and ends as a resolute man; the second son, Constantine, a good-for-nothing, who is a little overdrawn; Dennis Penhalligan, a young doctor made up of equal parts of asinine pride and youthful fury (and who therefore gets on badly with his patients); Loveday, the doctor's sister, who falls in and out trouble all through the book, and is always either exasperatingly foolish or provokingly "crushed" and resigned; Rose (afterwards Mrs. Gerans Gaverock), a bright heathen, with no ideas higher than her charming little head; and, finally, Juliot Featherstone, the sister of the unlicensed preacher, who through her adoring appreciation has undoubtedly become the prig he is. The incidents are stirring and well told; and all ends in chastened happiness, a double funeral putting things straight about six pages from the end. The language is very original and most skilfully sustained; the idiom of the Gaverock family, especially, is carried out through the book with a precision and firmness of hand which is wonderful, the result being a mental picture far more effective than pages of description; and yet there is not a trace of caricature.

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*Ismay's Children.* By the Author of "Hogan, M.P." London: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

**A**LTHOUGH these pictures of Irish life savour somewhat of caricature, they are redeemed from the charge of vulgar facetiousness by the glow of poetic imagination which colours the more romantic portions of the story, and the author then rises to a level in which the photographic literalness of commonplace detail is forgotten for a moment. The plot turns on the fate of Ismay's children—Marion, Gertrude, and Godfrey Mauleverer—left under a stigma as regards their birth, and deprived of their inheritance by the absence of proof of their mother's Scotch marriage. They are consequently brought up in poverty and obscurity by a maiden aunt in a small country-town in the south of Ireland, while their cousin Tighe O'Malley enjoys the position and fortune that ought to be theirs. A hero, however, appears in due course, in the person of Chichele Ansdale, a wealthy young Englishman with a peerage in prospect, to fall in love with Marion, despite her disadvantageous position, and the story of his wooing of the dark beauty furnishes the romantic episode of the book. Its tragedy is the fate of young Godfrey Mauleverer, a wild and beautiful youth, implicated in an abortive Fenian rising,

who falls a victim to the vengeance of his comrades because he refuses to sanction the murder of his cousin, about to be perpetrated in his own interest.

The sordid side of middle-class life; the mercenary marriages of farmers, the grasping avarice of village shopkeepers, and general absence of any standard of honesty or justice, as also the grotesque ghastliness of poverty and its surroundings, are described with a realism which is almost painful. Among the more pleasing incidental sketches is that of the parish priest, Father Paul, whose position as the general harmonizer of social and family troubles is admirably described.

*A Secret Inheritance.* By B. L. FARJEON. London:  
Ward & Downey. 1887.

MR. FARJEON'S plot raises a psychological problem of a novel kind, based on the commission of acts while in a state of somnambulism, foreign to the ordinary waking nature of the individual. His hero, otherwise a high-minded and honourable man, develops in this form the predisposition inherited from an insane mother, and unconsciously commits, while in sleep, a series of crimes, resulting from his previous state of mind, but of which he would have been incapable in his waking moments. Circumstantial evidence in each case involves an innocent man, and the plot turns on the various complications thus arising. Although such a perversion of the moral nature during sleep is, we believe, impossible and certainly unrecorded, the hypothesis is a sufficiently ingenious one to furnish the basis of a story which is told by Mr. Farjeon in his usual forcible and dramatic style. There is, however, a defect in construction in the interpolation of a lengthy episode relating to antecedent events which unduly interrupts the course of the main narrative. The greater the interest excited by the latter, the more does the reader grudge the diversion of his attention to a secondary theme.

*Mohammed Benani: A Story of To-day.* London:  
Sampson Low. 1887.

THIS work can hardly be classed as a novel, but may rather be described as an argumentative narrative, intended to illustrate the administrative abuses of Tangier, and the various evils resulting from the intervention of foreign diplomatic authorities in the domestic affairs of the country. If fact be here truly presented under the disguise of fiction, the system of extending the protectorate of foreign countries to native clients leads to great and crying evils; but the author gives no inkling as to how far his picture is taken from life, while he rather mars his claim to credibility by the introduction of mesmeric phenomena. The story is pleasantly told, and

is enlivened by sprightly conversation and picturesque sketches of life in Morocco.

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*Marzio's Crucifix.* By F. MARION CRAWFORD. London : Macmillan. 1887.

THE brilliant American author's residence in Rome has evidently led him to regard Catholic faith and institutions with sympathy, if not with reverence. In his present tale of Roman bourgeois life, he analyzes the inner workings of the mind of a blasphemous atheist, with the gradual perversion of all natural good resulting from its attitude of rebellion against authority, leading to the verge of fratricide. The series of impressions by which his conversion is brought about are connected with the sacred art of which, as a chiseller of church ornaments, he is, even in his unregenerate days, a consummate master. The character of the priest, Don Paolo, with his unpretending goodness and self-abnegation, is drawn with loving tenderness; and Marzio's wife and daughter are faithful sketches of Roman women of the *mezzo ceto*.

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*Dead Man's Rock : A Romance.* By Q. London : Cassell & Co. 1887.

MR. RIDER HAGGARD has founded a new school of fiction, and the present writer is one of his most promising disciples. We have here the same combination of startling adventure with minute realization of topographical detail, cunningly devised to make the marvellous seem tangible and familiar. The sensational business is in parts carried to the verge of the impossible, and the reader's credulity is strained by an exaggerated accumulation of tragic horrors, with which the writer's power to interest by the unaided charms of his style might easily enable him to dispense. Thus the best part of the book is the simpler narrative of the opening chapters, which reveal a pathos and power overlaid by the clap-trap melodrama of the later portion. If "Dead Man's Rock" be indeed a first book, we augur well for the author's future, when these extravagances are toned down with time and experience.

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*The City of Sarraz.* By U. ASHWORTH TAYLOR. London : W. Blackwood. 1887.

THE vague mystical glamour pervading this spiritual romance enables even the material-minded critic in search of definite plot or purpose to read it with interest, despite the unsubstantial vagueness of its texture. The haunting presence of beautiful ideas is everywhere felt, giving a charm to the sayings and doings of



personages whose dreamy existence has little hold on the world of actuality. An allegorical meaning probably underlies their actions, but if so its enigmatical meaning may admit of many readings. Does the unholy marriage of Noel and Morgan signify the position of art wedded to mere material beauty, or are we to seek a more purely spiritual interpretation of the parable? These and many other similar questions Miss Taylor's dreamy narrative suggests without answering, yet charms us all the same by its subtle depth of thought and poetic beauty of language, an inheritance indeed that we may well look to find in the daughter of the author of "Philip van Artevelde." The "City of Sarraz" recalls the works of Mr. Walter Pater and the author of "John Inglesant," and appeals to the same class of readers in its semi-mystical vein of moralizing sentiment.

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*Babel.* By the Hon. MARGARET COLLIER (Madame GALLETTI DI CARDILLAC), Author of "Our Home on the Adriatic." Two vols. Edinburgh and London : Blackwood & Sons. 1887.

THIS is a novel which begins on the coast of the Adriatic, near Ancona, and ends in the West-End of London. It is called "Babel," presumably, because the characters are all more or less of hybrid nationality, and speak Italian and English with great impartiality. The author, in order to keep up the situation, gives us one or more Italian phrases on every page; "Di niente," "Si capisce," "Scusa" (*sic*), "Meno male," "State commodi," and similar refinements of the Tuscan tongue are lavished on the reader in a fashion regardless of economy; whilst "Tu as raison, mon ami," and other startling sentences, do duty for the French language. The author seems to have lived on the eastern coast of middle Italy, and the picture of the half English, half Italian family near Gralta Ferrata, is given with the certainty of one who knows her ground thoroughly. It is an uncomfortable household; the mother is English and the father Italian, and for some reason (too long to explain) they "never address one another directly," which leads to some awkwardness. But there is a daughter, Giannetta, "whose smile and dimples incapacitated you for criticism" on her features. Lord St. Quentin is dropped into the midst of this "Babel" by the Egyptian mail; he finds them to be relations—or connections; there is a difference on this head between the father and the mother, and he afterwards marries Giannetta. But the wedding only takes place in the last chapter, and before that there is a good deal of Italian "colour" in the shape of country life, farming, cookery, and even assassination. All comes pretty right in the end, at least with the English members of the narrative; for it does not so much matter about the Italians, who are an inferior race. Miss Collier, or Madame di Cardillac, is entitled to the credit of having written a very readable story; but, like most Englishwomen, she never gets below the surface of the Italian character. She can describe the

peasant's cunning, his avarice, and his roughness, but not his faith and his unworldliness. And, like most English people, she writes from such a "superior" point of view that she is a little exasperating. But the novel is a good one, as novels go, and it is not disfigured by the more stupid kinds of bigotry.

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*Caswell: A Paradox.* Two vols. London: T. Fisher  
Unwin. 1887.

THERE is some power in these two volumes, and the principal personage arouses a certain amount of sympathy. John Caswell behaves badly, but he tries to expiate his wrong-doing, and the world takes his punishment in hand and sees that he gets it. But the filling-in of the picture is poorly done. There is a strong "Ritualistic" element in the book, and whenever the Ritualist parson appears he sets the teeth on edge. It is not only that his doings and sayings are tainted with aggressive insincerity, but his very love-making is so mawkish that the reader really finds himself wishing for wickedness. We have here two or three curates who are meant to be fine fellows, and who fall in love, in one way or another, in the most abject fashion possible—sighing, dreaming, fetching and carrying, "lingering," worshipping, plucking rosebuds, or getting the beloved one to pluck them, and then (Heaven save the mark!) putting them "in a vase beneath his crucifix." There is a needless complication, taking a long time to disentangle, about John Caswell's parentage, and it does not lead to much after all; for Branston is a very theatrical monster, and would not take in the youngest babe among novel-readers. But the mystic part of the story—for since "John Inglesant" there must be a mystic part in an Anglican novel—is the funniest. The bad hero is on a mountain in Switzerland, or somewhere, and there seem to be "visions about;" flame, and voices, and things. Whatever it is, it improves him; and as he certainly required improvement just then, we do not inquire too curiously into its meaning. The writer has power and earnestness, but a story is sure to be weak which pretends to blend the awfulness of the priesthood with the imbecilities of lawn-tennis, five-o'clock tea, rose-gardens, and simpering young women.

## Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

### ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

*La Civiltà Cattolica*, 15 Ottobre, 1887.

**The Man-machine.**—The *Civiltà Cattolica* for October 15 has an article thus entitled, which gives a very striking picture of the state into which the progress of modern paganism and materialism is fast reducing the bulk of our populations; for, though the reviewer has a special eye to his own country, his observations are more or less of general application. So long as Christian principles prevailed, the artisan, as a man, was in the eyes of science as well as of faith equal in all respects, save in his state of life, to the most powerful monarch on earth. He was a son of God, made to His likeness, and even in his capacity of artisan was honoured for his own special resemblance in condition to Him who humbled Himself to work in a carpenter's shop, and to be called the son of a carpenter; thus, by His example, conferring nobility on the poor, and dignifying the sons of toil. Such was the sublime idea of the poor which Christianity gave to society, and society accepted. All that it created during a long course of centuries in favour of suffering humanity was the outcome of this idea.

But new times came, and new ideas arose. The independence of man was first proclaimed. He was the source of all authority, law, and right; he was a law to himself, but from this proud elevation which made him a sort of god, he next sank into the vile slough of materialism, and was degraded to the level of the beasts, to whom he was proved to be allied by nature, origin, and end. The next step brought him lower still, and converted him into an automatic machine, composed of a fortuitous aggregate of atoms, endowed with mechanical movement. The progress of the new anthropological science may be summed up in these three formulas: the man-divine, the man-beast, the man-machine. We are arrived at the final stage. This is the last work of modern science, and the parent idea of a whole social system, modelled on the principle of materialism, of which the chief victims are the working classes, doomed by necessity to perpetual labour. The weekly day of repose, at once a religious and humanitarian law, heretofore proclaimed by all legislators and observed by all Christian peoples, is now, as the writer observes, brutally disregarded and trampled under foot in Italy. To beasts some occasional respite from toil is accorded, that they may not succumb from fatigue, but none to the man-machine. A machine has no right to rest. And so he works on every day without reprieve.

When the operative was a man, he had a mind to instruct, a heart to educate, a soul to save, a God to serve, a temple in

which to adore Him, a family and a domestic hearth where his affections could be cultivated ; but now that he is a machine what does he want of all this ? The only right he possesses is to live, in order to work, and to have his pay, which is to him what oil and grease are for the machine—viz., to keep it in working order. No festal day for him, not even the Sunday rest ; they are come to that in Italy, and other Catholic countries too. The Government and the municipalities, says the writer, the omnibus and railway companies, and numbers of contractors for both public and private undertakings, make neither cessation nor abatement of labour on the Sundays, which constrains those they employ to toil on at servile work without intermission, thus wearing out their bodies and consigning their minds to a brutal state of ignorance, the mother of all vices. Ask the omnibus conductors, and they will tell you that from morning to night, and on all days alike, they have not twelve minutes' rest, or even leisure to eat their food, which is brought to them by their families at midday, and which they gobble up in haste or rather hurry. The *employés* on the railway will tell you the same story, and the police again the same. The writer quotes with approbation, so far as it goes, a passage from Macaulay's works, in which he says, "We English are not poorer, but richer, because, for centuries, we have given one day in seven to rest. *That day is not lost*"—he means as regards even material interests, and proceeds to notice its beneficial effects on both mind and body. The writer also quotes Gladstone's opinion—he is considered a high authority in Italy—of the necessity of this law for preserving both the mental faculties and the bodies of men in a just balance, and that by all possible means this benefit ought to be secured to the people. Even the Rationalist, Proudhon, had a word to say in condemnation of the rich who, revelling all the week round in luxurious idleness, grudge the poor one day in seven to rest.

Such are the sentiments of Protestants and even unbelievers, and, although in many the motive may not rise, and in free-thinkers certainly does not rise, above the circle of material interests and sentiments of mere humanity, nevertheless, regarded in this light alone, the Sunday rest must be viewed as a source of public prosperity and happiness. Throughout the British Empire, upon which the sun never sets, as well as in the United States, and wherever the Anglo-Saxon race predominates (as the writer says), the observance of the Sunday rest prevails—nay, is often pushed to scrupulosity and exaggeration. Nevertheless (he adds) we hold for certain that to this may in large part be referred the wealth and power of England, it being the will of God to reward upon earth national virtues, even as in Heaven He recompenses those of individuals. "Why," he exclaims, "do not Italians imitate this example ? Was it not Rome that Christianized and civilized England itself ? What a shame that we should now have to receive lessons in civilization from those to whom for centuries we gave them !"

19 *Novembre*, 1887.

**Deaf-mutes.**—The same Review has devoted an article in its issue of November 19 to the labours of the late lamented priest, Don Augusto Cesare Gualandi, in favour of deaf-mutes. If, instead of glorying in the Cross, dedicating all the energies of body and mind to an obscure employment and doing good for the love of God alone, which was his motto and device, he had bent the knee before the Moloch of modern philanthropy, some street perhaps might have been named after him, and there would be talking most likely of erecting to his memory one of those monuments which are denied only to those who were truly worthy of honour—that is, truly great. But he will long continue to be blest by thousands of deaf-mutes, who to his indefatigable charity owe their knowledge of God, and their religious, moral, and civil education. For his work has not died with him, but is carried on by Canon Don Giuseppe and Professor Giovanni, a layman, his brothers, and both of them his unwearied and constant co-operators in this Apostolate, as it may well be called. It began with his sacerdotal career in 1852, and for thirty-five years—that is, to the close of his mortal life—he consecrated to it his high intellect and great talents, and consumed therein the strength of his naturally frail body. When friends remonstrated and besought him to take some rest, he invariably replied, “Suffer me to do good for the love of God alone.” God was the sole reward to which he ever looked, and whoever has any practical experience of what it is to take a poor deaf-mute in its well-nigh savage state and make of it a Christian—we might almost say a human creature—and an educated being, may judge whether aught but God Himself could be reckoned an adequate recompense for the toil and suffering it involves. It is a labour of love, which truly no mere earthly premium can tempt any one to undertake.

There may be, it is calculated, a million of these unfortunates in the whole world; in Italy alone there are some twenty thousand. God had poured into this holy man’s heart affections which may be called truly maternal towards these poor outcasts; and it needs a charity of that kind to obtain access to their imprisoned understandings and win their hearts. The deaf-mute is very commonly melancholy and suspicious, and responds ill to the care bestowed upon him, until by degrees his mind is raised to God and becomes enamoured of His goodness. Instances of the marvellous effect produced by the dawn of this knowledge on their benighted souls have been collected by Don Gualandi, some of which he had heard from others and some were matter of his own experience. It is truly touching to read what the well-known Sicard has recorded of a youth called Massieu, a pupil of his, who, when he came to understand that the heavens, the earth, the sea, and he himself also were the workmanship of an Infinite Being, who is God, he prostrated himself on the ground, and when he had come back from a kind of ecstasy of joy and adoration he, by the signs he had learned, said to

his master these beautiful words: "I beg of you, let me go and tell my father and my mother and my brothers that there is a God." This simple creature thought that the God revealed to him by his dear master was unknown to others as hitherto He had been to himself. This sublime sentiment (the Abate Fabriani, another benefactor of deaf-mutes, observes), this desire of going at once to announce God to our kindred, is so natural to the human heart, that his deaf-mute girls—in the Institute of the Daughters of Providence, of which he was director—as soon as a new companion appears in their school immediately inquire, "Does she know God?" and then, almost weeping, will add, "We did not know Him;" and earnestly beg their instructresses to get all the other deaf-mutes to their school that they may learn that there is a God. A visitor to one of the new institutes near Bandino relates (in the pages of a Florentine journal of September 13, of last year) how Don Giuseppe Gualandi, brother of the late priest and Superior of the Mission, made him assist at an examination of the children in talking. Their good mistress addressed several questions to them, to which they replied, articulating extremely well. The stranger, at the Canon's request, also questioned them, and asked them if they loved God, to which these poor girls all replied in chorus, "O yes! we love God so much, so very much."

After twenty years of ministry Don Gualandi had conceived the design of enlarging and perpetuating the fruit of his Apostolate by means of a society or congregation of priests and laymen, who should dedicate themselves exclusively to this work. Thanks to the zeal and charity of the Archbishop, Cardinal Morichini, it was established in 1872 under the humble title of the "Little Mission," Don Gualandi and his two brothers being the first to inscribe themselves as members. Fourteen years' experience has testified to the success which the "Little Missionaries" of the abandoned deaf-mutes have been enabled to achieve. It is sad to think, however, that, notwithstanding all their charitable exertions, as yet barely three thousand out of the twenty thousand deaf-mutes which Italy contains, and of whom the vast majority are immersed in profound ignorance of all things human and divine, are educated in the forty institutes of the Peninsula. For more particulars the reader must consult the interesting article to which we have thus briefly alluded.

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### GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Canon BELLESHEIM, of Aachen.

#### 1. *Katholik*.

THE September number of the *Katholik* gives us the concluding part of the excellent paper on Methodius, Bishop of Olympos, his life and system of philosophy and theology. This last portion treats of the bishop's teaching concerning the end of man and of the world, in which he shows himself a strenuous opponent of



Origen's many errors. Another article dwells on the doctrine of the Kosmos in the works of Nicholas, Cardinal of Cusa, that great son of Germany, who, besides the many services he did as Papal Legate throughout Germany and the Netherlands, is conspicuously eminent as a philosopher. His opinions on Time, Space, the World, and Heaven are fully and clearly set forth in this article. Another article is headed "From the Protestant Pulpit," and gives an account of the sort of caustic language formerly indulged in by Protestant preachers when attacking Catholic doctrines and institutions. The article illustrates how prejudices are perpetuated from generation to generation, and how we come to meet them, sometimes to our astonishment, in persons who in so many other respects merit our esteem; and it shows the origin of many stupid misconceptions concerning the Church. The October number has articles on the lawfulness of taking an oath, on the sons and grandsons of Herod as governors of Palestine, and on three writings of Faustus of Riez which were hitherto supposed to be lost. These writings are, (1) the "*Liber de Spiritu Sancto*:" Professor Caspari, of Christiania, has found this amongst the works of the deacon Paschasius (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* lxii. 9-39). (2) Faustus is also the author of the "*Breviarium fidei adversus Arianos*," which is wrongly inserted among the works of St. Leo the Great (Migne, *P. L.* xiii. 658). (3) The third work of Faustus is a dialogue on the mysteries of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and Grace, which is to be found in Migne (*P. L.* liii. 239-322). Limits of space forbid me from here giving any sort of account of the solid demonstration and the patristical and dogmatical arguments by which Father Suitbert Baumer, the zealous Benedictine of Maredsous, in Belgium, proves that Faustus of Riez must have been the author of these writings. Another article deals with St. Bonaventure as a doctor of mystical theology.

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## 2. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

There is a thoughtful paper in the September number on the Established Church of England. It describes her defects, especially simony, and points out the formidable adversaries which threaten her on every side. Father Janduschek contributes an account of the last yearly volume (1886) of "*Studies from the Benedictine and Cistercian Orders*," a periodical belonging to the Austrian and German Benedictines. The volume contains lengthy notices of various Benedictine monasteries, mediæval and modern, and also articles on questions of philosophy and theology. Professor Hettinger, of Würzburg University, in a brilliant article describes the education of the Catholic clergy in France and Germany, and insists on the necessity of founding a Catholic University. At the beginning of this century Germany possessed ten Catholic Universities; but the break-up of the Empire swept them away. The repeated efforts of German Catholics to meet this want have not as yet succeeded. Another



article describes the volume which the faculty of theology in the University of Münster has offered to the Pope on occasion of his golden jubilee. Its title is "The Mother of God in the Bible," and it contains an exegetical and dogmatic explanation of every Scripture text referring to Our Lady. Professor Schäfer, the learned author of the work, successfully shows the uniformity of the Old and New Testament witness to Our Lady, her office and position, and the closeness of her relation to the whole divine history. The book is a piece of thorough work, highly creditable to the author's learning, and calculated to soften the prejudices of non-Catholic readers. Another article is a criticism on Dr. Linsenmayer's "History of Preaching in Germany, from Charlemagne to the End of the Fourteenth Century," a work based on original studies, and highly instructive as to the means employed by the Church during the Middle Ages for imparting Christian doctrine to the faithful. Dr. Linsenmayer divides the periods into halves, the first extending from 800 to 1100, the second from 1100 to 1399. In the first, the preachers were wholly dependent on the Fathers, and were quite unsystematic. But from A.D. 1100 a change took place, which about 1250 reached its highest development. The first statute on preaching in the reign of Charlemagne appears in the *Capitulare*, published A.D. 789 at Aachen. It was followed by seven other statutes in various Diets down to A.D. 847. Amongst the bishops of that period zealous for the preaching of God's word by the clergy, Theodulph of Orléans († 821) stands prominent. We may thus summarize the results of the author's investigations: (1) In the time of Charlemagne and his successors great stress was laid upon preaching the word of God. (2) This noble duty was discharged by the bishops in the cathedrals, and during the visitation of their dioceses, and by the priests in the churches. (3) A sermon had to be delivered every Sunday and festival. (4) The sermon was an explanation of Christian faith and morals. (5) Generally the sermons were either translations or imitations of the homilies of the Fathers of the Church. (6) To the laity the sermon had to be delivered in the vernacular. Theories on the education of good preachers are laid down in Rabanus Maurus' work, "*De Institutione Clericorum*."

### 3. *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach.*

F. Victor Cathrein argues against Mr. Henry George's theories on the destruction of private property in land as unjustifiable; neither the prevalent distress nor the "*jus naturale*" can be adduced for "common property" in land. Father Marty writes about cremation as practised in Italy for ten years (1876-1886). Father Lehmkuhl contributes two articles on the mission of St. Alphonsus. In the second he argues against the system of "*Æquiprobabilism*," and points out that the Saint supported particular opinions by arguments derived from the works of the patrons of probabilism. The Church has indeed declared St. Alphonsus to be a "Doctor

*Ecclesiæ*," and his system of morals by consequence to be void of error, and followable as a sure guide by any priest in deciding moral questions. But the contest between probabilism and æquiprobabilism has not been touched at all. Father Daniel Rattinger contributes the first portion of an account of the suppression of the Knights Templars. He dissents from the opinion of Professor Jungmann in his "Dissertationes," and shows that the old French historians on the suppression of the Templars are of no authority, since they assert only what the crafty king of France wished his subjects to believe about the pretended misdeeds of the knights. These French authorities are contradicted by other historians who bear witness to the good behaviour of the knights. It is not fair either to lay stress on single charges against the Templars of the twelfth century, the period at which Saint Bernard himself came forth as the champion of their Order. Father Baumgartner takes the reader with him on a pleasant tour through Sweden.

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4. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* (Innsbruck).

Father Blötzer contributes an article on the treatment of secret sins in the penitential discipline of the primitive Church. F. Breitung writes on a topic which both in France and England has of late years roused considerable discussion—*i.e.*, was the Deluge universal or only partial?—and he apparently leans to the latter opinion. F. Grisar contributes "Paralipomena to the case of Pope Honorius." There are two opinions about the meaning of the condemnation of Honorius. According to one, he was only convicted of not having dutifully resisted heresy. The other acknowledges that, according to the text of the Council the Pope was convicted of heresy, but insists that the sentence was deprived of any canonical value because it was at variance with the canonical letter of Pope Agatho, published by him previous to the Synod, and because Pope Leo II. never approved of the decree of the Synod against Honorius. Father Grisar upholds this second opinion as the soundest and supported by the more ancient authorities.

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## Notices of Books.

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*Religio Viatoris.* (By the CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER.)  
London: Burns & Oates. 1887.

WE observe a new edition of this recent publication announced, bearing the name of the Cardinal Archbishop on its title-page. And we are glad that the illustrious writer has thus placed the little volume among his acknowledged works; for it is calculated

to be one of the most useful of his numerous valuable apologetic writings, and will go the farther and wider with the prestige of his name. It does not, indeed, give us that history of the growth of his religious opinions which, as has been noted, his Eminence has never given to the world; but it places before the world, within the compass of less than a hundred pages, a wonderfully succinct account, closely argued and clearly stated, of the reasons uppermost in his mind "for the faith that is in him." A fly-page, introductory to the body of the work, contains this brief statement:—

The four following truths are the four corners of my faith:—

I. A necessity of my reason constrains me to believe in the existence of God.

II. My moral sense, or moral reason,\* or conscience, constrains me to believe that God has revealed Himself to me.

III. My reason and moral sense constrains me to believe that this revelation is Christianity.

IV. My reason is convinced that historical Christianity is the Catholic Faith.

And on these four corner-stones are evolved in the four divisions of the work, by a process of lucid and systematic reasoning, arguments which lead the reader on from the general admissions of theism to the dogmas of the Catholic Church. It would be impossible, by quotations, for us to give an adequate idea of the compressed swift style and the keen observations by which the writer shows the logic and consistency of his creed, evolving it from its elements to its completion; and to try to do so would be unfair to a manual which is both small and cheap, and which will, as it ought, become a popular and valuable handhook both among Catholics and inquirers. The Notice which heads the volume is, however, too interesting not to be mentioned; it thus opens:—

Some years ago, being for many days on a journey without work or books, I thought that it might be a fair time to write down, in fewest words, the reasons for what I believe.

We therefore owe this valuable treatise to that indefatigable activity of the venerated author which impelled him to turn to such account an enforced isolation that most men would have unreflectingly accepted as inevitable, or enjoyable, as the case might be. And when we come to the conclusion of the task thus undertaken, and accomplished, and read the final words of the last page—

On these foundations—four square and imperishable—rests the faith to which God in His mercy has called me, in which I hope to live and to die, for which I also hope that, by God's grace, I should be willing to give my life.

—and further reflect on the many sacrifices and labours by which the depth of his love for the Church has been marked—sacrifices of

time, strength, and self, which amount, in one sense, to life, we cannot but feel stirred within us the filial affection we have for our beloved prelate, and sincerely add the prayer that he may long be spared to his flock and the Church of Christ in England.

Omitting, for reasons of space, a few illustrative instances we had marked of acute observations made in passing, we cannot quite refrain from quoting from the criticisms made in the first section, on the subject of Evolution :—

It is not my purpose here to state the reasons why I do not believe the theory of Evolution to be a scientific truth. I will confine what I say to one link in the argument—namely, the supposed evolution of man. . . . It is the exclusive and primeval identity of the species for which we contend. There are, indeed, many daring hypotheses, but there are no facts of science rendering the evolution of man from a lower animal credible or probable. I will here confine myself to this one point :—

The argument may be stated thus. Comparing the structure of man with the structure of the ape, we find a group of similitudes in the form and organization of the bones. From this it is inferred that the anthropoid ape is germinal man; and that man is the anthropoid ape made perfect. But where are the gradations of transition? . . . .

Let it be said that a group of similitudes between the coporeal or bony structure of the ape and of the man may be found: multiply and raise its details as high as you will. It there stands alone, one only group of similitudes; and those similitudes are found in the lowest region of man's nature.

On the other hand, there are five groups of dissimilitudes between the ape and the man: and these are in the highest region of man's nature, to which no counterpart can be found in the ape.

If, then, one group of similitudes refers man to the ape, five groups of dissimilitudes sever man from the ape (pp. 5, 6).

We can only briefly mention that these five groups are—1, articulate language; 2, power of abstract thought; 3, power of intellectual creation; 4, moral reason; 5, power of self-government and consciousness of responsibility. His Eminence concludes :—

These five groups of dissimilitudes are, indeed, no less patent than the one group of similitudes in our bodies and bones. Disputants may shut their eyes to them, but the human race still sees them. They were dropped from no planet; they were not self-caused by spontaneous generation. An induction that takes in only one group of the lowest phenomena, and excludes five of the highest, is neither scientific nor philosophical, but an outrage on philosophy, science, and common sense. Some men, however, would rather commit intellectual suicide than acknowledge their Maker (p. 8).

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*Dissertationes selectae in Historiam ecclesiasticam, auctore BERNARDO JUNG MANN. Tomus VII. et ultimus. Ratisbonae: F. Pustet. 1887.*

THE various portions of this work have been brought before the readers of this Review as they appeared; we have now the seventh volume, which completes the work. This last volume treats of the Reformation and the chief topics of Church history since—

such as the Council of Trent, Jansenism, Gallicanism, the Suppression of the Society of Jesus, &c. Tracing the real as distinct from the oft-asseverated causes of the pseudo-Reformation, the author is of the (only possible) opinion that it was an unjustifiable rebellion. Stress is laid on the character, morals, and arguments of the first Reformers. In giving Pope Leo X. a worthier character than has been hitherto popular, the author is much helped by the recently published "Regesta Leonis X." from the Vatican archives. Following Cardinal Hergenröther and Professor Janssen, he entirely denies the familiar accusation against Tetzel as having given rise to Luther's movement and justified it. At the same time he does not vouch for the propriety or moderation of every one of the assistant preachers. Professor Jungmann's dissertation on Jansenism is largely founded on documents which Mr. A. Vandenpeerebom, of the Belgian Cabinet, brought out in 1882 (Cornelius Jansenius sa mort, &c., Bruges). The present volume contains little about the Church in England—almost crushed to death as it was during the period under penal laws—but towards forming a picture of the state of the European countries ravaged by Jansenism, Febronianism, and Josephism, the dissertations will be found of great service.

BELLESHEIM.

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*Conciliengeschichte nach den Quellen bearbeitet von CARL JOSEPH VON HEFELE, Bischof von Rottenburg. Fortgesetzt von JOSEPH CARDINAL HERGENROETHER. Achter Band. Der Fortsetzung, erster Band. Freiburg: Herder. 1887. (History of the Councils, by Bishop von HEFELE, continued by CARDINAL HERGENROETHER. Volume VIII. First volume of the Continuation.)*

THE universally esteemed History of Church Councils by the Catholic Bishop of Rottenburg, is being gradually put before English readers in an excellent translation (published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark of Edinburgh), of which three volumes (to A.D. 451) have been published. The German original was written as far as the seventh volume by von Hefe; but he was unable at his age, and burdened with Episcopal duties, to undertake the labour of writing it further. Cardinal Hergenroether is doing this arduous work for him, and doing it in spite of his numerous occupations as Keeper of the Papal Archives, and without letting it interfere with his other great undertaking, the publishing of the *Regesta* of Leo X. The eighth volume of the new edition of Hefe, and the first of the Cardinal's continuation of him, has now appeared: its publication is a literary event. The Cardinal has used for his work what he could find to the purpose in the archives of the Holy See: this gives it a special value; and he has performed his task well. He is a veteran worker in the field of Church history, and his present undertaking is marked by wonderful diligence in collecting materials, a sagacious and trained critical faculty, and by excellent judgment.

He is also an expert theologian. He is a warm defender of the Holy See; yet, as it is needless to remark, he is far from making any attempt to vindicate every deed or judgment of the Pontiffs themselves. On the contrary, the Cardinal never hesitates to blame where blame is deserved, but he knows how to distinguish the person of the Pontiff from his sacred spiritual function. He successfully modifies the unlimited censure of many Protestant historians, and brings into prominence the solemn fact that the Church never ceased to be the unspotted Bride of Christ.

It would tire the reader were I to try to lead him by mere headings through the immense accumulation of matter in these 895 closely printed pages; I may, however, mention that this volume treats of Councils, both general and particular, from the Council of Basle to the Fifth of Lateran (1439-1512). The decrees of the provincial Synods of Sweden, England and Ireland, are very interesting and useful, as presenting a view of the state of clergy and faithful in those countries. Pius II. (*Æneas Sylvius*) is a subject of interest to the Cardinal, especially as regards his efforts for a crusade, and his retraction of certain less accurate opinions once held by him on the spiritual supremacy of the Pope. The Cardinal's judgment on Alexander VI. is severe, but at the same time both just and temperately stated. Coming to the Fifth Council of Lateran, we observe that the state of feeling in France at the time when Louis XII. was surrounded by counsellors and prelates who could venture on the false Council of Pisa in opposition to Julius II., was not unlike the situation of that country during the Vatican Council. New light is thrown on the contests between Bishops and Regulars at the Council of Lateran by many documents here first published.

Thus much must suffice by way of introducing to the notice of English scholars this fine production of the great Cardinal's unwearyed zeal and learning—a scientific history which will help to realize the wishes of the present Holy Father for the spread of sound historical writing.

BELLESHEIM.

*L'Eglise et l'Etat en Angleterre depuis la Conquête des Normands jusqu'à nos jours.* Par ALBERT DU BOYS. Lyon et Paris: Delhomme & Brigueat. 1887.

**M.** ALBERT DU BOYS is not unknown in England, for his "Life of Catherine of Aragon," the ill-used wife of Henry VIII., has been translated into English, and we are glad to meet him again in his learned essay on Church and State. He has given us a very interesting biography of three bishops who have a very distinguished place in mediæval history, and of a fourth, the Blessed John of Rochester, Cardinal Fisher, who saw the ruins of a great Church and the beginning of great evils to the State which deliberately threw aside the yoke of Christ, that it might wander at will in the fogs of error, despising the light and hating it.



The first Life is that of Lanfranc, who came over, not with the Conqueror, but at his request, after the road had been made plain for him by the imprisonment of Stigand, who had usurped the See of Canterbury, and accepted the pallium from the Antipope. The days were evil before the Conquest, though a saint was king, and St. Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, and they were not much better after it. There was greater order and more visible effects of authority, but the poison had entered into the blood, and it became a question of time how soon that poison would come to its certain end. The old Saxon principle of Church and State was somewhat corrupted, but William the Conqueror proclaimed the doctrine of separation of Church and State, and acted upon it. He was, however, not hypocrite enough to talk of a free Church in a free State; he left that insidious formula for a later generation. Besides, he did not hold it, and would certainly have scouted it if anybody had suggested it to him. His doctrine was a free State with the Church in bondage. He probably would have had no objection to the French doctrine of Gallican liberties; but he did not know it, and so, could give it no chance. He did not want liberties of any kind for anybody but for himself, for he was a tyrant of tyrants, and took more care to preserve the wild beasts in his forests than he did to secure the lives of his subjects.

He began the attack on the Church by expelling the bishops from the courts of law, and then told them that they were never to censure any of his men, no matter how heinous their offences against God and man. He would allow no decrees to be made in the Provincial Synods which had not first been shown to him and approved, and the Pope himself was to remain unacknowledged in England till he should approve of him. The first Emperor of the French did not perfectly equal in his enormities the savage man who had made England his prey, and destroyed six-and-thirty churches to make the New Forest for his amusement.

When Henry IV. set up Guibert of Ravenna as an Antipope to disturb the jurisdiction of Gregory VII., and hailed him as Clement III., England was invited to go out of the Church into the schism. The spirit of compromise fell upon Lanfranc and upon William the Conqueror: they would not accept the Antipope, but did cease to recognize St. Gregory. Lanfranc would not obey him, and the Conqueror remained passive and glided easily into evil. If St. Gregory was not disowned, he was not obeyed; and after his death Lanfranc remained Archbishop of Canterbury, and William died, no one knows how, for certain. But it is quite certain that, after the death of St. Gregory, Lanfranc all the rest of his life acknowledged no Pope, and the Pope was not acknowledged in England till St. Anselm compelled William Rufus to return to the obedience of the faith.

M. du Boys passes very lightly over this scandal, and is of opinion that Lanfranc did not really go astray; disapproving of the conduct of the man who had set up the Antipope. Disapproving is not quite that which is expected of the Archbishop of Canterbury, or



any other person. "This disapprobation," says M. du Boys, "clearly showed that the hesitation of Lanfranc was not serious, and that England would persevere in its obedience to Gregory VII., and so it did" (p. 56). We wish M. du Boys had spoken better things. England did not persevere: the King and the bishops ceased to be subject to the Pope, and would have persevered in their contumacy—at least there is no trace of uneasiness—if St. Anselm had not rescued them from their perilous condition.

M. du Boys in his affection for Lanfranc is silent altogether about the gross violation of the ecclesiastical immunities. Even the Conqueror himself was afraid to touch them, and it required the shameful hereliction of Lanfranc to give him the evil courage which enabled him to lay violent hands upon his half-brother, the Bishop of Bayeux. But the excuse made for the Archbishop, in a note on p. 141, is hardly to be accepted, and M. du Boys himself on reflection will, we trust, not maintain it. St. Anselm and St. Thomas were reproached in their day by the kings whom they resisted, and were bound to resist, for their conduct, which was at variance with the conduct of Lanfranc under like conditions. That note is to this effect: "Lanfranc had submitted in fact to the laws of the Conqueror without sufficiently protesting against them. He did not adhere to them doctrinally (*Il n'y avait pas adhéré doctrinalement*)."<sup>1</sup> The submission without protest on the part of the Archbishop of Canterbury was in itself a scandal; the bishops, priests, and laymen who saw that submission must have considered Lanfranc as accepting all the king's demands upon him, which were grievous violations of the rights of the Church. Lanfranc, out of respect for William the Conqueror and for William Rufus, ended his days in schism, for he never submitted to Victor III. and Urban II., having further been gravely disobedient to St. Gregory VII. It is not surprising that Henry I., like Henry II., spoke well of him, and regretted that St. Anselm and St. Thomas did not walk in his ways. We must maintain, however, that it was well they did not; and as they did not do so, and were saints, we must maintain that they did right.

M. du Boys has been attracted by Lanfranc, and is under the charm of his fascination. Undoubtedly, Lanfranc had many great and good qualities. He was an Archbishop from beginning to end; tolerated no opposition, except that of the king; domineered over the prelates, and reduced his brother, Archbishop of York, to a sort of ecclesiastical vassalage, probably unknown elsewhere. But he helped to lay the egg out of which the Reformation came, and was in his day that which Cardinal Wolsey and Stephen Gardiner were in theirs. In Lanfranc's day the poison had not yet infected the faithful at large, whereas Wolsey and Gardiner found the evil done, and multitudes of heretics scattered up and down the land. Lanfranc's contempt of the Holy See and Wicliffe's books made it easy for Henry VIII. to do all that he did.

"The truth is," says M. du Boys in answer to Mr. Freeman, who had said of Lanfranc that he was the viceroy of the king, "that by

degrees he became a conciliating and skilful intermediary between the State and the Church" (p. 23). It is at least doubtful whether Lanfranc ever safeguarded any of the rights of the Church when the king disturbed them. He was resolute enough when a brother Bishop attacked him, but we know nothing of any resistance to the royal will, not even to that of William Rufus. So far was he from being a conciliatory intermediary, that he used all his skill to vex the Bishop of Durham, and to palliate and defend the gross injustice which that prelate had to suffer from the arbitrary proceedings of William Rufus. Lanfranc was undoubtedly a great prelate, and rendered services of no common kind both to Church and State, but he was not true to the Pope.

M. du Boys himself confesses that Lanfranc was a man of a rebellious and revolutionary mind. These are his words :

"Lanfranc believed that, for the good ordering of the government of the Church of England, the hierarchical unity must prevail within her as in the State" (p. 20).

The meaning of this is, that as there was one king in England, so also should there be but one bishop; not, however, that Lanfranc should govern the whole ecclesiastical State directly himself, but that he should be a Bishop of bishops, and the Archbishop of York a suffragan of Canterbury. It is too true that Lanfranc did wish to bring his brother of York under his rule, and in many things succeeded. The See of Canterbury was held in great honour all over England, no doubt, and much was yielded to the Primate; but Lanfranc was an ambitious prelate, though he did not at first even desire the dignity; once in power, he became another man. The humble monk was humble still before the civil power, but he was not humble with his brother bishops, and he was not humble before the Pope.

The two saints, Anselm and Thomas, of whom M. du Boys has written well, were successors of Lanfranc on the throne of Canterbury, and that which they had to do was to undo the work of Lanfranc, to obtain her liberty for the Church, which Lanfranc had compromised. It did not please God that they should reap the fruit of their labours. They had none with them in their struggles, and matters went on from bad to worse; and thus M. du Boys, perhaps not consciously, closes his biographical sketches with the martyr of Rochester, who had to pay the penalty, not of his own subservience to the State, but of that of Lanfranc, who violated the ecclesiastical immunities in the person of the Bishop of Bayeux.

It is very creditable to M. du Boys that, being as he is a foreigner, he should have been so accurate in small things while discussing the affairs of a country not his own, and, moreover, not a country studied at school, as we study Italy and Greece. But it is not given to men, even learned men, to escape from blunders, and M. du Boys must submit to become an illustration of the doctrine. Pinebontram (p. 28) is meant for Pinnenden, and the Blessed John of Rochester was put to death on Tower Hill, not at Tyburn (p. 340).

M. du Boys, we believe, is a very learned lawyer, and that causes us some surprise at p. 368, where he speaks of the Gorham case. He there says that the Dean of the Arches gave sentence against the Bishop of Exeter, and that the sentence subsists. That is a fact not accurately stated, but it does not matter now. M. du Boys is astonished, not at the sentence, but at its being the sentence of a layman in an ecclesiastical cause. There is nothing out of the way in this, for in Catholic days the Bishop of Exeter would have had to submit to the Dean of the Arches, who was the official of Canterbury—that is, the Archbishop himself—for the official and the bishop have but one court, and each is as competent as the other to sit in it. It is very true that in Catholic times that judge was always in minor orders at least, but he might have been a layman. Paul à Castro was vicar-general of Florence, and would have sat in the Court of Arches there if such a court existed. He was a great lawyer, but at that time he was not only a layman, but a married man. The Dean of the Arches was an ecclesiastical judge, and even Protestants so regarded him; but he is now a judge appointed by the Crown, though not when he heard the case of Mr. Gorham. He seems to have been the last relic of old times, and now he is not even in name that which he was.

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*Thomas à Kempis.* By FRANCIS RICHARD CRUISE, M.D. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1887.

IT is not a little remarkable that, in spite of the vast literature that has grown up around Thomas à Kempis and the "Imitation of Christ," the book before us is the first published in English, and written by a Catholic, which purports to give an account, sufficiently complete for all save specialists, of this wide and interesting subject. Dr. Cruise's book is divided into five parts, the first of which deals with the "Imitation" itself, and recites some of the testimonies borne to its excellence by many well-known names. The second sketches the career of Gerard Groot, one of the most remarkable figures of the later Middle Ages, and tells of the religious revival wrought in North-western Europe by his apostolic zeal. The life of Thomas à Kempis, passed as it was in the heyday of this movement, and under the full influence of many of Groot's ablest and holiest followers, occupies the third part, in which we also find some account of the less known of à Kempis' voluminous writings. Part IV. is devoted to the controversy anent the authorship of the "Imitation." Dr. Cruise is a firm believer in à Kempis' claims; he gives a clear and popular summary of the Kempist case; and, although now and then severe, his pages are free from the personalities and unseemly banter too often indulged in, even down to recent years, by the combatants on either side. The fifth part, the germ out of which the whole work has grown, will probably prove the most generally interesting. It consists of the description of a pilgrimage to the scenes where

Thomas spent his life, illustrated by autotype reproductions of two contemporary portraits, and by a series of views of the more interesting localities, from photographs taken specially for his book by Dr. Cruise himself.

The whole work is informed by so Catholic a spirit, is animated by so genuine yet sober an enthusiasm, gives evidence of such careful study, and withal is written in a style so simple, that it affords reading both improving and attractive.

Appendix C. is an important contribution to the "Imitation" literature. It sets forth at greater length than Dr. Hirshe's edition, which gives only actual citations, a series of extracts from St. Bernard's works, tending to prove that the first chapter of the "Imitation" owes its inspiration in a great measure to the writings of this Father. Dr. Cruise says that this holds good of the "Imitation" throughout, and announces as in preparation an edition "annotated with the intention of showing the sources from which the book is mainly derived—Scriptural, Patristic, Classical, &c." The great value of such an undertaking, should it be brought to a successful issue, need not be pointed out. But the thought that "a physician in active practice," as the author describes himself, should be able to find time for such extended and severe ecclesiastical studies may well be a spur to many whose calling both lays on them as a duty the prosecution of such studies, and in most cases allows of sufficient leisure for their pursuit.

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*Saint Etienne Harding et les Premiers Recenseurs de la Vulgate Latine Théodulfe et Alcuin.* Par M. l'ABBÉ MARTIN, Professeur à l'Ecole Supérieure de Théologie de Paris. Amiens: Rousseau-Leroy. 1887.

WE are glad to find that the Abbé Martin has been prevailed upon to publish in a separate form his valuable contribution to the history of the Vulgate. He has thus thrown light on the textual criticism of the Latin Vulgate at a period concerning which but little was previously known. The learned professor has taught us how the saintly founder of Cîteaux laboured to provide his monks with a correct text of St. Jerome's translation, purified from unauthorized additions. The MSS. on which St. Stephen worked were chiefly of one description, and represented Alcuin's revision with more or less variation. One MS. he describes as "plenior," and this the Abbé Martin has clearly proved to be a Bible after the recension of Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans. Alcuin, followed by St. Stephen, adhered as closely as possible to the Hebrew, as far as it was accessible to them, whether through their own knowledge or through Jewish interpreters, is not clear. Theodulf evidently attached the highest value to the Septuagint, and refused to sacrifice the additions and interpolations found in the old Latin version and derived from the Greek. It is certainly remarkable that the Sixtine and Clementine revisers of the Vulgate should have perpetuated many verses which Alcuin and

St. Stephen rejected as unauthorized additions to St. Jerome's translation. But, as the Abbé Martin tells us, the Clementine Vulgate is not the Church's last word on Biblical criticism. Lucas of Bruges pointed out four thousand passages which needed correction. Cardinal Bellarmin did not deny that such was the case, but acknowledged that the revisers had "intentionally for just reasons" passed over many things that needed correction. The Abbé Martin has mainly confined his critical comparison of different readings to the Old Testament, and especially to the first book of Kings. In the New Testament he throws some new light on the disputed verse 1 John v. 7-8. The Alcuin recension, as is well known, does not contain the verse. Of the two complete copies of the Theodulfian version, one contains and the other omits the verse. The Abbé Martin inclines strongly to the general opinion of modern critics that the three Heavenly witnesses are a gloss on the earthly witnesses, and seeks to trace its origin to a Spanish source. The La Cava MS., the Santa Croce Speculum, and the Toledo MS.—the chief evidences in favour of the verse—are all from Spain. Theodulf was himself a Spaniard by birth. The recent discovery in Austria of Priscillian's writings, in which the verse is quoted, points in the same direction. The heresiarch died in 384, so that, whatever may be its value, the early date is of considerable importance. Against this, it may be urged that the Fulda MS., written in 546 by Vincent of Capua, contains the disputed Prologue of St. Jerome defending the genuineness of the verse.

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*Prælectiones Metaphysicæ Specialis*, quas in Collegio Maximo Lovaniensi, S.J., habebat GUSTAVUS LAHOUSSE, E.S. Vol. I. *Cosmologia*. Lovanii: Car. Peeters. 1887.

THIS is another of those excellent courses of scholastic philosophy which are distinctly traceable to the stimulating influence of the great Encyclical of our Holy Father on philosophical studies. Father Lahousse's course will be completed in four volumes, of which this is the first. There will follow "*Psychologia*," "*Theodicea*," and "*Logica et Metaphysica generalis*."

The author tells us, in his preface, that he has devoted himself unreservedly to the exposition and the defence of St. Thomas's philosophy, for two special reasons: first, on account of his unbounded admiration of St. Thomas, who sums up in himself the wisdom of all the great scholastics who preceded him; and, secondly, on account of his deep veneration and respect for Pope Leo XIII., who, in the midst of his multitudinous cares and anxieties, can yet find time to direct the Catholic schools of Christendom.

Father Lahousse, in his "*Cosmologia*," goes over the usual ground traversed by those who have treated of this subject. His expositions are certainly clear and exhaustive. He dwells, at considerable length, on the important subject of "*Creation*." There is special reason for this in days like ours, when old heresies and false

theories appear again under new names, and "creation" is formally denied. St. Thomas held that, although it is *de fide* that the creation of the world was not eternal, yet this truth could not be demonstrated from reason. Our author, with the greatest reverence and respect, states his dissent in this matter from the Angelic Doctor, and gives weighty reasons for so doing. In his chapter "De Miraculis," we wonder why he has not reproduced some of the reasons given by St. Thomas in lib. iii. cap. xcix. of his "*Summa contra Gentiles*."

We do not wish to find fault with Father Lahousse's excellent book, but we may express a regret that in treating of Cosmology he should not deal more particularly with the theories of what is called the "Cosmic Philosophy." Professors seem to confine themselves too much to the old ground, and deal with theories which are extinct, whilst they pass by those which are the fashion of the day, and present actual difficulties to Catholic thought and doctrine. We want the difficulties of the day dealt with, and arguments supplied to our hands which we can wield with effect against the bold and powerful thinkers who are arrayed against us.

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*Robert Grosseteste, Bischof von Lincoln.* Von Dr. JOSEPH FELTEN.  
Freiburg: Herder. 1887.

THERE are those in Germany, and perhaps also in England, to whom the very name of Bishop Grosseteste, or Greathead, is scarcely known. Yet, there was a time when the "*Lincolniensis*" was held in the highest esteem, both as bishop, scholar, and statesman. Whilst Catholic authors pass him by in silence, or stigmatize him as an opponent to the authority of the Holy See, we meet Protestants who rank him amongst the reformers before the Reformation. Dr. Felten here traces the true picture of Bishop Grosseteste, as presented in his genuine writings and the mediæval chroniclers. In this undertaking Mr. Luard's edition of the Bishop's letters have been of immense service. The chief chapters are headed: 1. Education and studies of Grosseteste. 2. His administration of the Diocese of Lincoln. 3. His disputes with the Cathedral Chapter about the right of visitation. 4. Grosseteste at the General Council of Lyons, 1250. 5. His opposition to Papal provisions. 6. Grosseteste as a scholar and writer. 7. His interest in the University of Oxford. And last, his character. We here make acquaintance with a very agitated and laborious life. Considered either as a priest, bishop, scholar, or defender of the Magna Charta, Grosseteste takes rank amongst the most brilliant lights of the mediæval English Church. As to the manner in which Dr. Felten has acquitted himself of his task, it is enough to say that it realizes what one expected from the writer of the sober and critical life of Gregory IX. He first deals at great length with the Bishop's position towards the Holy See. According to his own letters no one in England had greater veneration



tion and love for the Pope than Grosseteste. Innocent IV. himself caused the Bishop's paper on the scaths of the Church to be publicly read in the Consistory. The only censure one may pass upon the Bishop is that he opposed the dangers connected with benefices, sometimes with too great violence. But did he not die excommunicate? No. It is an unsupported tale, which is solemnly disproved by two serious facts. First, three bishops and several abbots assisted at Grosseteste's funeral, in the presence of an immense multitude of the faithful; and, secondly, the Holy See was even petitioned to canonize him. Dr. Felten deserves special praise for the labour he has spent in classifying the writings of Grosseteste. Looking at this list, English scholars must admire the variety of learning in philosophy, theology, history, and law of a man who, as a bishop, was so busily occupied with "missionary work." Dr. Felten's work also throws new light on the currents of thought in the University of Oxford, in whose advancement Bishop Grosseteste took so vast an interest. To the immortal memory of a great Englishman, Dr. Felten has erected a lasting monument.

BELLESHEIM.

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*Lettere di S. Alfonso Maria de Liguori, Fundatore della Congregazione del SS. Redentore. Parte: Corrispondenza generale. Vol. I. Roma: Società S. Giovanni (Desclée, Lefebvre & Co.). 1887.*

THE life of S. Alphonsus, written for the Saint's centenary by Father Dilgskron (Ratisbon: Pustet, 1887), in two bulky volumes, is here followed by a new edition of his letters in the original Italian. The editor is a Redemptorist Father, who has not published his name. He has performed his work, however, successfully. Some years ago the Fathers made known their intention of bringing out a collection of the Saint's letters, begging that possessors of letters of S. Alphonsus would communicate them. The result of this appeal was an immense accumulation of hitherto unknown letters. Even now, however, many letters known to have been written have not reached the editor, who still hopes that they may be found. The whole of the letters are here appropriately divided into two groups, under the head of general and special correspondence. The first volume of the general correspondence is before us. It contains no less than 517 letters and pastorals, written between 1730 and 1766. Special care has been taken to secure an accurate text; only now and then some Neapolitan provincialisms have been cancelled. Many mistakes in older editions have been corrected, and a large quantity of foot-notes, historical and theological, add considerably to the pleasure of reading. The get-up of the volume is excellent. The letters in the present volume are mostly addressed to religious, and contain direction in anxieties and doubts. Next some pastoral letters addressed to the Saint's recently erected Congregation, and these are filled with solid advice to religious aspiring after Christian perfection, and on the interior life. The letters which relate to the Saint's exertions to obtain the approval of



the Naples Government for his Congregation are specially interesting. We have here also the last will of the Saint, written March 5, 1746, and it evidences both the acuteness of the lawyer and the piety of the priest. We anticipate that this splendid edition will find a wide circulation, and soon be made accessible to numerous readers in other countries by good translations.

BELLESHEIM.

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*The Roman Missal.* Adapted for the use of the Laity, with English and other Appendices, and a Collection of Prayers. London: R. Washbourne. 1887.

THIS is a new, well-edited, well-printed edition of the Missal in English, of convenient size, and neatly bound. Completeness and convenience of use have been aimed at, and with considerable success. There are several introductory pages of "Notes and Directions," explaining the division, &c., of the ecclesiastical year, and how the precedence of feasts is arranged, with other explanatory and rubrical matter. It is also a happy thought to have prefixed to the Ordinary of the Mass some Morning Prayers, Litanies, Communion Devotions, &c., thus relieving one of the need of taking with us a Prayer-book as well as the Missal to Mass. The Introits, Graduals, Offertories, and Communion Verses are given in both Latin and English, because at High Masses sung by choirs; the Epistles and Gospels are in English only. The copy before us has an appendix for England, another of Benedictine, and a third of Jesuit "Propers," and an appendix for Ireland is in preparation. All the new Masses granted of late are contained either in the body of the book or in one of the appendices; a number of Masses are, therefore, here which have not hitherto appeared in any English Missal; even the special Mass of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour is here, we notice. The book has been in preparation for several years, and carefully edited, and has, it is stated, had the advantage of an official examination by the Rev. W. Hill, of St. Bede's College, Manchester. It also bears the imprimatur of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, and, as far as we have been able to examine it, is an excellent edition of the Missal. We trust it will become very popular.

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*Geschichte der Christlichen Malerei.* Von Dr. ERICH FRANTZ. Band I. Freiburg: Herder. 1887. (History of Christian Painting, by Dr. E. FRANTZ.)

THIS work has been well received in Catholic quarters in Germany. The author of it undertook a task demanding exceptional qualifications; for the historian of Christian art must appreciate and start from the Christian standpoint; further, he must be animated by those principles which alone enable him to estimate truly the produc-

tions of Christian genius; and last, but not least, it is imperative that he should have made himself acquainted with the principal objects of art, not by the study of books merely, but by personal visit. Our author, to a great extent, possesses these requirements. A professor of theology in the Academy of Munster, he has for many years resided in Florence and Rome, and has already published several excellent art volumes, the fruit of his earnest and untiring studies in archæology and art. He has now undertaken a much more important work—the history of Christian painting. The first volume of 575 pages traces the story from the beginnings of Christian art down to the close of the Roman epoch. It opens with a description of the “Downfall of Græco-Roman Art,” which is followed by “The Beginnings of Christian Art.” Had Dr. Frantz written no more than this thoughtful and solid essay on the Christian paintings of the Roman catacombs, he would have deserved our gratitude. Even antiquarians familiar with the Roman catacombs and the literature concerning them will scarcely fail to derive profit from the author’s treatment of the subject. He also points out in a noteworthy way the esteem in which the Fathers of the Church held art, and he once again refutes the oft-refuted charge of the darkness and barbarism of the Middle Ages. Even the period of Charlemagne and his unworthy successors appears teeming with works of the art or miniature, wonderful for vivacity of colouring and their marvellous interlacing designs. Of course England, and still more Ireland, receive special attention in this chapter. Dr. Frantz’s long residence in Italy specially fitted him to write the history of mediæval painting in the peninsula. In the second book of this volume he places before us those splendid mosaics which adorn so many churches or Italy and Sicily. He also devotes a chapter to the history of art in the East, Greece, Russia, and Egypt. The concluding part is concerned with the revival of the art of painting in Italy.

Two points deserve special mention. Dr. Frantz is not only a competent historian of painting, he is himself a painter, and his practical knowledge exercises a good influence on his descriptions and criticisms. And also the purity and excellence of his German style is noteworthy. He has given us solid work in graceful form; and his “History of Christian Painting” will, we expect, take its place as the standard authority.

BELLESHEIM.

*The Story of the Nations.—Germany:* By the Rev. S. BARING-GOULD, M.A. *Hungary:* By Professor ARMINIUS VAM-BÉRY. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

IN our last issue we noticed, in some cases not altogether favourably, certain volumes of this series, dealing for the most part with ancient history. The two volumes before us, and especially the second, are decidedly above the average of those already noticed. It would of course be unreasonable to compare the “Story or Germany” with Mr. Bryce’s “Holy Roman Empire;” its object is

different, as it is written for young people. The subject dealt with is so wide, that the narrative of events is necessarily sketchy; but what is there is interestingly told, and without bigotry—indeed, the writer goes out of his way in one place to give a correct explanation of the nature of Indulgences. The book is a fairly adequate outline of a great subject. Professor Vambéry's "Hungary" is a welcome addition to our popular historical literature, treating as it does of the story of a truly remarkable people, and one, if we be not mistaken, of which comparatively little is known among us. It relates how in the tenth century a Tartar nation migrated from Asia, and settled down in the heart of Europe; how under a series of great and wise kings, as St. Stephen, St. Ladislaus, the Belas, and others, whose deeds are all too little known, these Magyars dropped their Asiatic ways, and so thoroughly assimilated the civilization of the West, and became so integral a part of the Western political system, that when their own kinsfolk, the Turks, invaded Europe and spread terror everywhere before them, Hungary, for the space of three long centuries, was the breakwater that stayed their advance, the bulwark that saved Christendom, and this, although for a hundred and fifty years the Turkish standard waved over Buda Pesth. We read also of a people which, in spite of foreign occupation, and in spite of systematic governmental efforts to stifle the national life, clung with dogged tenacity to its nationality; and at last, after centuries of oppression, won for itself its legislative and executive independence. The wrongs from which Hungary suffered under the Austrian rule appear to have been the confiscation of land for German settlers, an absentee aristocracy, an impoverished peasantry, a close official class ruling the country according to German notions and in German interests, endeavouring to stamp out everything Hungarian, and refusing to listen to the popular voice until the very eve of the concession of self-government. This will show how interesting a book the "Story of Hungary" is. It has often been debated of late whether self-government has been a boon to Hungary; Professor Vambéry is quite clear about the enormous advance that has been made in the material prosperity of his country during the twenty years of its national parliament. In short, Professor Vambéry's book is full of interest from beginning to end, and is enlivened by constantly recurring episodes of chivalrous patriotism and desperate bravery unsurpassed in the annals of any country.

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*Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria, with Cettinge in Montenegro and the Island of Grado.* By T. G. JACKSON, M.A., F.S.A., Honorary Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford; Architect. Author of "Modern Gothic Architecture." Three vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1887.

IN these three volumes, perfectly printed, charmingly illustrated, and daintily bound, Mr. Jackson introduces us to what is perhaps the least known part of Europe. To the majority of those

who think they have exhausted the interesting cities of old Europe, and know by heart the contents of the treasure-houses of the past, it will be a pleasant surprise to learn that within a few hours' sail of Italy there is along the eastern shores of the Adriatic a region with a wonderful history, with customs and institutions dating from the days of the Roman Empire, and, what is scarcely of less interest, rich in beautiful works of bygone architecture and ancient art. Perhaps the very nearness of Dalmatia to Italy has been one reason for its past neglect, though, indeed, gratitude to a land and a people which stood as a bulwark against the Moslem when Western Christendom was trembling for its safety should have merited kinder treatment than it has yet received. Mr. Jackson's volumes will go far to arouse among English and American tourists interest in a country well worthy of their attention; nor is he the first of our fellow-countrymen who have called attention to the neglected treasures of mediæval art of which Dalmatia is possessed. As he says:—

English travellers were the first to make these countries and the monuments of art which they contain known to Western Europeans. George Wheler visited Spalato in 1675, and has left us the earliest description of the ruins of Dioclesian's palace. Robert Adam's account of that building, published in 1674, is still the best; the antiquities of Pola were explored by Stuart in 1750, and splendidly illustrated in the fourth volume of the great work that goes by his name; Sir Gardner Wilkinson in 1848 published an excellent general account of Dalmatia, Montenegro, and part of Herzegovina; Mr. Paton's book followed; more recently Professor Freeman has published some brief sketches of the earlier architecture of some of the maritime towns; while the well-known researches of Mr. Arthur Evans in the interior of Bosnia and Herzegovina have introduced us to a part of Europe till then unknown. Even foreigners who have written on these lands have found more readers in our country than their own, and Professor Eitelberger of Vienna tells us that the first edition of his book on the mediæval art of Dalmatia was almost entirely bought up in England.

To summarize the researches of former travellers, to complete the unfinished account of Dalmatian art on which Professor Eitelberger was engaged, and to "give a tolerably complete description of all the architectural monuments of importance on the mainland of Dalmatia, the islands, the Croatian shore of the Quarnero, and the littoral of Istria, from Pola to Aquileja," and in the island of Grado, "unknown to English art students except by report," and in many other places "unknown to them even by report," is the work undertaken by Mr. Jackson, and so admirably carried out. Moreover, he has given us as an introduction a very valuable and very readable compendium of the history of the countries which his three tours of exploration have made him so well acquainted with, and when the long and ever-varying and most complicated phases of Dalmatian history are known, his epitome must be deemed a model of conciseness. He tells us of the early dwellers in those lands of which we have any certain knowledge, the Liburni; of a Celtic immigration, which, occurring as it did about six hundred years before the Christian era, has left traces of itself in several place-names; of the

planting of colonies by the Sicilian Greeks from Syracuse, and of the eleven wars which were necessary before the power of Rome was definitely established along the eastern littoral of the Adriatic. In that long struggle, Delminium, the capital, from which the whole country took its name, was so utterly overthrown that its site is now a mere matter of conjecture, and the Roman colonies of Salona and Zara henceforth shared between them its vanished power. The former of these cities acquired great celebrity from its proximity to the splendid palace which the Emperor Dioclesian erected at Spalato. This period of Dalmatian history closes with the inroads of the barbarians and the murder of Julius Nepos, the last of its quasi-independent rulers, in A.D. 489.

From 535 to 1102 the influence of the Byzantine Empire was the most potent factor in Dalmatian history; this and the constantly renewed attacks of the Avars and Slavs. In course of time the two principal elements in the population settled down into what has been till our own day their normal state. In the coast towns, Zara, Ragusa, Spalato, and the rest, the old Roman population found its congenial homes, and perpetuated the language, customs, and municipal life which they had inherited from the empire; the mountainous interior of the country, on the other hand, became the recognized territory of the Slav intruders, who were influenced scarcely, if at all, by the old civilization at their feet. Christianity had been introduced at an early date into Dalmatia, but the conversion of the Slavs only came to pass in the middle of the seventh century. Though Charlemagne was acknowledged as Emperor, the Frankish rule was too short-lived to have much effect, and in some vague way the seaboard cities were still subject to the Emperor who ruled from Constantinople.

With the ninth century Dalmatian history entered on a new phase. The incursions of Saracen pirates from Sicily, and the struggle between the Venetians and Narentines for the supremacy of the Adriatic, almost forced the Dalmatians into espousing the cause of the Venetians, with whom in blood and tongue they had so much in common. Thus it came about that at last, in 998, the Doge, Pietro Orseolo II., went over to Dalmatia and, with the leave of the Eastern Emperors, Basil II. and Constantine IX., took possession of the country.

And so things went on. The Normans, who had so firmly established themselves in Apulia, seem to have been invited to settle in Dalmatia, though the fact is not quite established; what is certain is, that the Hungarians, in the person of King Ladislaus, were pressed to take over the kingdom in 1087, whereupon the Doge revived the dormant claims of Venice, "and thus began the struggle for the possession of Dalmatia which with varying fortune raged between these two Powers for the next three hundred years, till Hungary, broken by Turkish conquest, was compelled to retire from the contest and leave Venice mistress of the field" (p. 35). But not by any means to hold her new territory unmolested. Struggles with the Almissian pirates, and a ceaseless striving against the Turks,

from the first attack in 1299, prevented Dalmatia from ever enjoying real peace, which only came when the decadence of both Turkey and Venice made peace as unsuitable for the welfare and development of the country as the conflict of the previous centuries. With the fortunes of Venice fell those of Dalmatia, and the last years of the Venetian rule were years of retrogression and decline, consequent on the stern repression of all local aspirations, political and industrial. The transfer of rule to Austria by the Treaty of Campo Formio in 1797 meant little more than a change of masters; no new life was infused into the quiet decaying cities of Dalmatia, whose even course has but lately been stirred by the aggressiveness of the Slavs of the interior, who seem now in a fair way to abolish the last remnants of the old Roman culture and language which maritime Dalmatia has zealously adhered to for so long a time.

Succinct and epigrammatic as is Mr. Jackson as an historian, it is naturally as a guide to the new lands he has opened out that we must here consider him. Take part of his general description of the country as a sample of his style:—

The natural scenery of Dalmatia is as singular as its geographical formation, and is in the strongest contrast to that of the opposite shores of Italy. The luxuriantly wooded mountains of Umbria, and the lagunes and marshes of Romagna and Venetia, are confronted in Dalmatia by stony deserts and mountains of an arid whiteness, which at the first view seem covered with new fallen snow; while the muddy sea that beats on the flat shores and harbourless coast of Italy is exchanged on the opposite shore for sapphire depths of crystal clearness, which interlace an intricate network of natural breakwaters and penetrate into countless havens of matchless security. To the traveller from Central and Western Europe the sterility and barrenness of Dalmatia suggest the deserts of Arabia rather than any part of his own country.

It is to this strange land, with its remains in church and palace, of Rome and Venice and Byzantium, that we must now go over. Of one of the most interesting of the ruins which the country possesses Mr. Jackson thus writes:—

In the palace of Dioclesian at Spalato we have one of the earliest, perhaps the earliest, step towards that new departure in architecture which resulted in the development of the styles of modern Europe. Here we see the first relaxation of the strict rules of ancient classic art; the proportions of the different members of the order are varied and arbitrary; new forms of ornament, such as the zigzag, which was to play so large a part in Norman architecture, make their first appearance; and the arches are made to spring immediately from the capitals without an intervening entablature. . . . It is impossible to overrate the interest of this building to the student either of ancient or modern art. To the one it will be the last effort of the dying art of antiquity, still majestic in its proportions, still dwarfing into insignificance by its huge masonry the puny works of later ages, which are already crumbling into ruin, while it seems destined to stand for eternity, but at the same time fallen from the perfection of the classic age, and stamped with the seal of returning barbarism. To the other it will seem the new birth of that rational and unconventional mode of building in which the restless and eager spirit of the regenerated and repeopled Roman world has found free



scope for its fancy and invention; which places fitness before abstract beauty, delights to find harmony in variety, and recognizes grace in more than one code of proportions. Both will be right: the palace of Spalato marks the era when the old art died in giving birth to the new.

This remarkable edifice, finished in 305, is the single perfect specimen of architecture which has come down to us of the work of the first eight centuries of Dalmatian art. Istria and Friuli, however, are better off in the magnificent basilica of Euphrasius at Parenzo (535, 543), and the duomo of Elias at Grado (571, 586), which preserve the traditions of classical days under the influence of Byzantine feeling. Many churches, basilican in plan, and some of them domed, are scattered up and down in the old cities; their dates are variously given, but "all that can be said with certainty is that they were built at some time between the year 800 and the year 1100." On the decay of Byzantine influence Venice and Hungary began to make their mark on the architecture as on the history of Dalmatia; not that there was any native Hungarian art, as Mr. Jackson is careful to point out, to influence the country, but the ideas, whether borrowed from Germany or France, which the Hungarians had assimilated, have found expression in more than one of the monuments which they have left behind them in that country. The pointed arch found a home later in Dalmatia than elsewhere, but as if to atone for this, it seems to have continued in use for domestic work for some time after it had been discarded by the Italian builders of the Renaissance period. One of the most interesting of the buildings described by Mr. Jackson is the Benedictine nunnery at Zara, which, by a special permit of the archbishop, he was allowed to enter, and of which he gives some valuable sketches. With the "splendid campanile and chapter-house" of this convent, "the Romanesque architecture of Dalmatia bursts suddenly into life" (1102-1112). St. Crisogono, also at Zara, the four steeples at Arbe, and the duomo at Veglia, are among the buildings which show the survival of Romanesque feeling when the rest of Europe was awakening to the beauty and use of the pointed arch; the cathedral of Traù, with its "superb portal and sombre nave," is one of the most conspicuous specimens of Hungarian influence. Of Venetian Gothic every town of any size has abundant examples, and even when it gave way before its rival, "the picturesque freedom of Gothic, which continued to inspire the earlier phases of Renaissance art, and which gave it its life and charm, never forsook the style in Dalmatia till the seventeenth century was well advanced, when the art suddenly sank into the slough of the 'Barocco,' in which it was finally engulfed."

Zara, the first of the cities described by Mr. Jackson, is especially rich in mediæval work. Besides the churches above alluded to, the cathedral, with its wonderful baldachino and rich late-Gothic stalls; its sacristy, with the remarkably handsome pastoral staff of Archbishop Valaresso (1460), the churches of S. Pietro Vecchio, S. Lorenzo, and, most remarkable of all, S. Donato, the friary of S. Francesco, rich in old woodwork and sumptuous chalices, S. Simeoni,



with a curious shrine, are all described and amply illustrated. Novigrad, San Michele d'Ugliano, Nona, Vrana, Sebenico (famous for its beautiful church, half Gothic, half Renaissance, and absolutely fire-proof, as no timber was allowed in its construction), and Scardona complete the first volume.

Spalato, with its marvellous palace and the cathedral which it encloses, Salona, Traù, with a duomo which might almost, save for its belfry, have come from the Rhine land; Jak, which is distinctly Hungarian in style; Lesina, rich in specimens of the architecture which makes Venice so dear to the readers of Ruskin, and with a cathedral rich in old furniture and vestments; Curzola, with another characteristic cathedral, and a Franciscan convent with a charming cloister; and, last of all, Ragusa, a treasury of beautiful buildings, civil and ecclesiastical; such are the chief places described in Mr. Jackson's second volume. In the third, he goes over scarcely such interesting ground, the most important places illustrated are Óssero, Cherso, del Veglia, and Arbe, which, "though not quite a city of the dead, is only half alive." Its cathedral must be a delightful spot for the lovers of old art and old customs; the ruined church of St. John the Baptist is another of its interesting sights; its silent streets rich in beautiful fragments of old Venetian palaces must be well worth the enthusiasm which Mr. Jackson lavishes upon them. Trieste, Aquileja, and Grado are the last places which we are taken to, and complete the most interesting book of travel and art which it has been our pleasure to meet with for a long time.

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*Greek Verbs in a Fortnight.* By JOHN CAREY, B.A. London: Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co. 1887.

MR. CAREY believes from experience that an hour a day devoted to learning the Greek verbs on his plan will "place a boy at his ease," as far as these said verbs are concerned. His tables certainly appear to us extremely clear and practical, and no doubt will be found of great use by both teacher and pupil. It must be understood, of course, that the really "irregular" verbs are barely touched upon. We feel bound to take exception to one or two points. We cannot but think that it is a decided mistake to omit all accents—even the circumflex. Mr. Carey thinks the study of Greek is really becoming more general and more profound—which is probably true. We may add that it is becoming more scholarly; and for that very reason we must profess an old-fashioned attachment to the accents. Perhaps the omission of the smooth breathing is a lesser evil; but we hardly like that either. There is also occasional loosenesses of expression—*e.g.*, on p. 4 we are told that the Perfect adds the termination *κα*, and that "in some verbs *φα*, in others *χα*, is used instead of *κα*." This is surely wrong: the correct explanation is given later on (§ 21), where it is stated that the ending added is really *ά*, which united with a final labial or guttural gives, of course,

φα and χα respectively. We do not like the term "double" letters applied to ψ, ξ, ζ, on p. 17; it would be better to call them "sibilized," or some such term, as they are really formed by addition of an σ. And it can hardly be correct to talk of the multiple stems of some verbs being formed by "mistake," e.g., πλεκήσω as future of πλέκω, because the latter was "mistaken" for a contraction of πλεκέω. Surely here, as in so many verbs, and as in all languages—Latin and Sanskrit as well as Greek—we are in presence of *duplicate* stems (πλεκ-, and πλεκ-ε-; like (σ)εχ- and σ(ε)χ-ε-, lav- and lav-a-, &c.) If we have permitted ourselves these few criticisms, it is not from any desire to depreciate the value of this little book, which on the contrary we can safely recommend for its clearness and utility.

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*Commentary on St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians.* By F. GODET, Doctor of Theology, Professor of the Faculty of the Independent Church of Neuchâtel. Translated from the French by Rev. A. CUSIN, M.A. Two vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1887.

THE value of Dr. Godet's Commentaries is so well established that there is no need of doing more than call attention to this latest addition to Messrs. Clark's Foreign Theological Library. Without approving of all Dr. Godet says, we may safely say that his Commentaries are characterized by piety and learning. As a sample of his style, we may quote the following summary of the Corinthian Epistle:—

In these Epistles [he says] it is his gift for the care of souls which strikes us—it is the ποιμήν, the pastor, whom we admire. The object is to bring back an erring flock, whom seducers have alienated from him; it concerns him to resolve a multitude of practical difficulties which have arisen in the life of the Church. In the former of these letters, the Apostle is self-restrained; he calmly discusses the questions proposed, he gives solutions full of wisdom, and fitted to guide us even in our day in analogous cases. In the latter his emotion breaks out; he labours, on the one hand, to draw the bond more closely which unites him to the faithful portion; on the other, to isolate and remove the rebellious spirits.

The translation by Mr. Cusin strikes us as very well done.

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*Lectures, chiefly Expository, on St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians.* By JOHN HUTCHISON, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1887.

THESE lectures are a happy mixture of homily and commentary. They are enriched with apt quotations from ancient Fathers and modern poets. There is nothing controversial about them. The author is learned and well read in all the literature of the subject; and he has the happy art of concealing his learning, or rather of relegating it to the notes and illustrations at the end. Though the

author is not a Catholic he has frequent recourse to Catholic sources, and, unlike certain Protestant writers we could name, is honest enough to acknowledge his obligations. We had marked many beautiful passages worthy of quotation, but we content ourselves with the following brief contrast between St. Paul and Seneca :—

There was a contemporary of Paul in Rome, Seneca the philosopher, the moralist, the man of the world, the idol at one period of Cæsar's Court, and altogether one of the most prominent figures of his age, one who may possibly, as tradition asserts, have conversed with the Apostle regarding "the faith of the Gospel." This man fell into adversity, and in the midst of it, stern and firm as he at first was, he ultimately gave way to unavailing complaints. His anguish has found voice in words, which call only for pity, not unmingled with contempt. The case of this man in his exile in Corsica is the emphatic contrast to that of Paul. Paul's sufferings only ennobled him the more. In his heart rested all the more abidingly the covenant of peace (p. 243).

*Political Science Quarterly.* June and September, 1887.

THIS American magazine started as a salutary reaction against the ignorant presumption that stood for science in Economics and Politics; and it has well exposed the manifold absurdities of *laissez faire* fanaticism. Unhappily men are prone to quit the fryingpan, not for the hearthrug or even the fender, but for the fire. So the writers in this magazine seem, several of them, to have a dangerous affection for the *Kulturstaat*, or modern State—that is, for a centralized scientific government, with a highly trained and permanent bureaucracy *à la prussienne*, recognizing no rights outside those granted by the State, and entirely divorced from religion. Thus they seem out of sympathy with the best part of the American Constitution, namely, the system of Federal States, each independent in their internal affairs, and most of them controlled by a healthy rural electorate. The contrast between these State Governments on the one hand, and the corruptions of the Central Government and the great cities on the other hand, is well known, or ought to be. But precisely the Central Government and the great cities seem the favourites of these writers, and the independence of the States their bugbear. And they imagine corruption can be escaped by scientific study of administration and enlightened methods of municipal government, as though technical was the same thing as moral advance, or as though we should be much the better for exchanging plunder and oppression, rude and empirical, for plunder and oppression, elaborate and scientific. I must not write a homily, but still I may be allowed to improve the occasion, and say that this "scientific" American magazine affords one more piece of evidence that religion and politics cannot be kept apart, that economical and political science are departments of ethics, and that ethics are subordinate to theology. If priests and "clerical" laymen are chid for meddling

with science, we can answer with a *tu quoque*, and ask, why then does Professor John W. Burgess in the *Political Science Quarterly* meddle with us, and write an article styled "'The Culturconflit' in Prussia," that might have been written by Minister Falk himself, so gross are the calumnies, so unblushing the Cæsarism. We are told that on the withdrawal of the French from Rome "the Pope and the priests determined upon the consolidation of the whole power of the Church in a single hand"; they succeeded, completely suppressed the independence of the bishops, and the Pope became dictator. Then, when the new Emperor of Germany refused to protect him against Italy, he had the word passed round that the new Empire must be crushed, and so sedition was preached from the pulpits in Germany, and stirred up especially by the "unnational Jesuit order," &c. &c. In fact, Prussia is painted as a sort of lamb defending itself against clerical wolves. But why cite such nonsense? it may be asked. I cite it, because it occurs in a strictly "scientific" publication, and is a specimen of what Professor Burgess calls "the light and air of modern thought and science," and which, if there was enough of it, would undoubtedly be fatal to "Vaticanism." These stupid falsehoods indeed point a moral. Impartial scientific research is a phantom; for all truths are connected, and each man is indivisible. We cannot let out our memory, our understanding, and our will to three separate jobs. Thus, at least in all historical and ethical research, it is no use to make any pretence of not bringing in religion. In it will come; and as the facts of history are a tremendous testimony in favour of Holy Church, the facts must be punished for their clericalism, and be distorted and maimed, or suppressed altogether, to make room for fiction. Hence the impossibility of historical and ethical science being adequately treated by non-Catholics—hence the absurdity of asking us to entrust our young men to the teaching of non-Catholics, to Professor Burgess for example, on modern history.

But let me not be misunderstood. A great part even of these two numbers of the *Political Science Quarterly* is founded on fact, and may be read with much profit by the discreet. Let me name in particular the intelligent essay of over eighty pages by Dr. Seligman on railway legislation. Here, in short compass, we have a repository of information on a difficult and technical, but yet most important, subject; we are given an intelligible account of railway legislation in America, England, France, and Germany, and are put in the way of forming a sound judgment on railway tariffs, differential charges, competition, pools, and State control.

C. S. DEVAS.

## Record of Roman Documents.

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**ABOLITION OF TITHES.** *Vid. Decrees.*—For instructions given to the Bishops and other Ordinaries in Italy upon the course to be followed in dealing with the new Act for the Abolition of Tithes. (*S. Pen.*, Sept. 2, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, Dec. 3, 1887.

**ABOLITION OF TITHES.**—This decree declares that the Church has a divine right to acquire property in order to provide for the worship owing to God, the maintenance of His ministers, &c. The civil law has, therefore, no power to interfere. The new Italian law abolishing ecclesiastical tithes is null and void, and as such the conscience of the faithful is not bound to observe it—the tithes must be paid as before. (*S. Pen.*, Aug. 25, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, Nov. 19, 1887.

**BANNERS.**—No banner to be blessed but those of Confraternities approved by ecclesiastical authority, and in some measure under the dependence of the said authority; they must bear religious and no reprehensible emblems. None but those mentioned above are to be admitted into churches. (*S. Cong. Off.*, Oct. 3, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, Oct. 15, 1887.

**B. VICTOR III., FEAST OF.**—This Feast raised for this year only to a double of the second class, and to a lesser double for every future year; but only for the Roman Clergy and those who follow the Roman Calendar. (*S. R. C.*, July 23, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, Nov. 12, 1887.

**CONFRATERNITIES AND THE CLEMENTINE INDULT.**—A visit to some church or chapel is generally one of the conditions for gaining an Indulgence. The Clementine Indult allowed all those members of Confraternities, &c., who are unable to pay these visits, to gain the Indulgences, provided they performed all the other works enjoined. All Confraternities have a right to this Indult without special application to the Holy See. (*S. C. Indulg. et S. Reliq.*, Aug. 20, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, Sept. 24, 1887.

**INDEX.**—The Congregation of the Index having approved of a book entitled "Liberalism is a Sin," by Felix Sarday Salvany, afterwards explains that the approbation was intended for the general doctrinal principles contained therein, and is not to be extended to certain political propositions enunciated in the work. (*S. Ind. Cong.*, Jan. 10, 1887, and Aug. 29, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, Oct. 29, 1887, and Nov. 5, 1887.

**INDULGENCED ROSARIES, CROSSES, &c.,** may be given, *before being used*, to a second, third, or even fourth person. They must be given *gratis*; any return or any exchange would take away the Indulgence. He who can enrol others can enrol himself; he who

can bless for others can bless for himself also. (*S. Ind. Cong.*, Jul. 16, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, Oct. 8, 1887.

**JURISDICTION.**—In the newly formed Indian Hierarchy certain districts, and therefore certain persons in the Diocese of Bombay, are exempt from the jurisdiction of its Archbishop, and are subject to the Bishop of Damão, and *vice versâ*. Hence arise many questions upon jurisdiction, for which *Vid. Tablet*, Nov. 26, 1887.

**OCTOBER, MONTH OF THE ROSARY.**—This decree, after dwelling upon the influence of the Rosary as seen in the past few years, renews all the previous permissions, decrees, and instructions issued in connection with the Rosary as the devotion of October. (*S. R. C.*, Sept. 11, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, Oct. 1, 1887.

**PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH.**—To gain the Indulgences, &c., granted to this pious work the faithful must be enrolled, and any one may enrol who is allowed to collect alms. He must also say each day one *Pater* and *Ave* and *S. Francis Xavier, pray for us*, and contribute the monthly halfpenny. The Ordinary of the Diocese, with one or two counsellors, suffice to manage it. For these and many other solutions of doubts (*S. Ind. Cong.*, July 16, 1887) *Vid. Tablet*, Oct. 22, 1887.

**QUASI-DOMICILE.**—To remain for one month in a place is now sufficient to constitute a *quasi-domicile* in the United States for all purposes of marriage, and to empower the Bishop of that place to treat such a one as a subject in the matter of dispensations. Proof of a free state (*liber status*) must still be forthcoming, and the terms of the decree limit the concession to those who pass from a diocese where the decree *Tametsi* is in force to another. (*S. Inq.*, May 6 and 12, 1886.) *Vid. Tablet*, Dec. 18, 1887.

**ROSARY DOCUMENTS.**—For all the documents issued in connection with the Rosary during the last four years, from the first bearing date July 16, 1883, to the last of Sept. 11, 1887, *Vid. Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Oct. 1887.

**THIRD ORDER OF S. FRANCIS.**—The Third Order is to have precedence in processions before the Confraternity, lately raised to an Arch-confraternity, of the Blessed Sacrament, the latter having been established more recently than the former. (*S. R. C.*, June 2, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, Nov. 19, 1887.

**THIRD ORDER OF S. FRANCIS AND RELIGIOUS.**—The members of Institutes or Religious Congregations, who have taken either perpetual or temporary vows, cannot become associates of the Third Order. (*S. Ind. Cong.*, July 16, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, Dec. 10, 1887. *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Dec. 1887.

**VAGI.**—Decision of the S. Congregation of the Council in an instructive matrimonial case regarding Vagi. (*S. C. C.*, June 26, 1886.) *Vid. Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Sept. 1887.



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